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MODES OF ADDRESS AND PRONOMINAL USAGE IN PUNJABI

A Sociolinguistic Study



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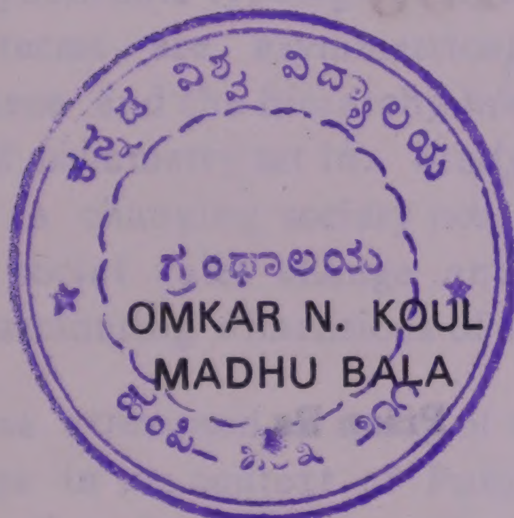
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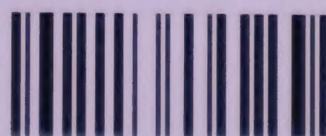
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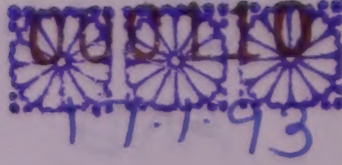
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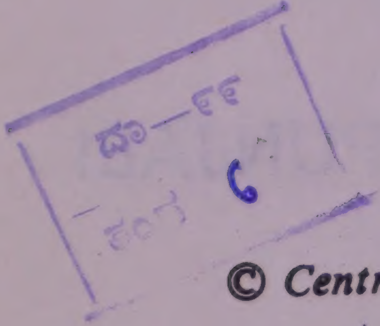


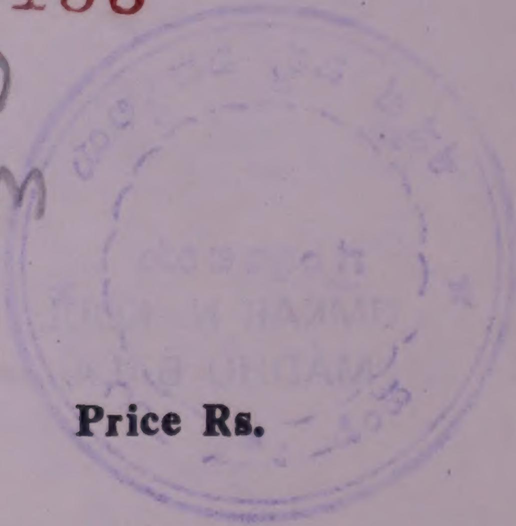


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FOREWORD

Terms of address form part of the socio-cultural matrix of a people. These can be studied on a historical developmental scale or on a synchronic typological scale. In a hierarchical society address terms are asymmetrical. But when social change takes place and the hierarchy breaks down new kinds of symmetry and asymmetry set in. Study of semantic evolution of terms in a changing society poses a bigger challenge. How underlying social rules change and how people exercise options present fascinating dimensions of study.

Dr. Koul has attempted a study of modes of address and pronominal usage in the context of Punjabi. Similar studies need to be done for all Indian languages to work out typologies. If this is accepted by scholars then our efforts would be rewarded. I congratulate the authors and all those involved in the production of the work, more particularly Sri H. L. N. Bharati for quick execution of this work.

(D. P. Pattanayak)

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Omkar N. Koul
Madhu Bala

ABBREVIATIONS USED

TM	Topic Marker
VOC.	Vocative
CP	Contrast Particle
HON.	Honorific
CM	Conjunctive Marker
CAUS.	Causal
FUT.	Future
P	Particle
ERG.	Ergative
EP	Emphatic Particle
NH	Non-Honorific
Pl.	Plural
AUX. V.	Auxiliary Verb
FN	First Name
NN	Nick Name
LN	Last Name
TLN	Title plus Last Name

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Areas of Sociolinguistic Research

The study of terms of address and pronominal usage in a given language is not possible without taking into account the social structure and cultural patterns of the people who speak that language natively. These patterns determine the language behaviour of individuals in a given society. The role of human beings in a particular society varies according to the requirement of that society in its geographical and developmental settings. It has been observed that the use of modes of address largely depends on the degree of power and solidarity in a given society among different social dyads.

This power and solidarity, influenced by different historical and social factors, largely determine the selection of modes of address. Individual differences from speaker to speaker may occur due to individual

personality differences. The use of modes of address varies according to the social status of the participants; influencing factors include age, sex, caste, etc. These factors operate in most of the cultural areas of present day India.

In a modern dynamic society there is rapid change in people's linguistic behaviour. These changes can be observed in the use of modes of address and pronominal usage as well. In a dynamic society the semantics of reciprocal solidarity has developed in response to the growth of social mobility. The extension of social solidarity is a social change that is reflected in linguistic behaviour and has in turn occasicned further extensions of various kinds.

1.2. Review of Available Literature

Various types of modes of address include diminutive first names, first and second names, surnames, professional titles, different interjections of address and second person pronouns of address, etc. These modes of address have been studied for the following languages in the available literature on the subject.

To begin with Brown and Gilman (1960)

explain the development of pronominal usage and address forms in various European languages, e.g., Latin, italian, French, Spanish, German and English. Their study consists of five sections. In the first two sections a description of the semantic evolution of pronominal address is given. In the third section, the relationship between social structure, group ideology and the semantics of pronouns is explained. The final two sections are concerned with expressive style, i.e., co-variation between pronouns; and the characteristics of pronouns used by the speakers. The aim of Brown and Gilman was to trace change in the usage of pronouns from the Middle Ages to present times.

They have reported that in the 19th century the power semantic predominated in Western Europe, but within the past century under the influence of a more mobile social system, the solidarity semantic has gained supremacy over the power semantic.

Brown and Gilman make a clear distinction between symmetry and asymmetry in the form of interpersonal address. According to them at an earlier stage, there was reciprocal use

of T (= tu, thou, du) between equals of lower classes and of V (= vous, you, sie) between the equals of the mobility, and non-reciprocal use of T and V between the persons of non-equal status.

Brown and Ford (1964) extended the work of Brown and Gilman (1960) and interpreted forms of address in American English in terms of the two dimensions, intimacy and status.

Americans have mainly two forms of address: Titles plus last name (TLN) and first name (FN). These two modes of address allow the three patterns prevalent among Americans: (1) reciprocal use of FN, (2) reciprocal use of TLN and (3) non-receiprocal use of TLN and FN. Several other forms like Title (T), Last name (LN), Multiple names (MN) are also used. The semantic distinction between the FN and TLN shows equality but unfamiliarity. The use of FN is generally preferred by the people in non-formal situations and also indicates intimacy or familiarity between the addressee and the addresser. The TLN is generally used in formal situations and for addressing a person of higher social status.

S. M. Ervin Tripp (1971) extended the work

done by Brown and Ford (1964). Ervin Tripp has descripted the rules of address in social structure. She has presented modes of address to show what forms of address are possible and how people make choices in particular situations. She has presented a brief comparative study of various languages on the basis of modes of address. A comparison of the Bisayan and Korean systems is presented quoting the works of William Geoghegan (1971) and Howell (1967). In the Bisayan system, the choice of the modes of address is made on the basis of age, rank and friendship, but in the Korean system, rank is given the first prominance. In the Korean system intimacy creates complex dyadic relations. It is shown that the Bisayan system is very close to the American rather than to the Korean system.

Lambert's work (1967) as quoted by Ervin Tripp (1971) presents the criteria for selecting modes of address as a system of social rules. He also discusses how address rules develop with the speaker's age.

Ervin Tripp has quoted the work of Kantorovich. According to his work, besides, factors like age and rank that determine the modes

of address in a system, we need to attend to other signals as well like tone of voice and other address features of address.

In Nuer modes of address, Evans Pritchard (1964) shows the detailed correlation between the usage of forms of address and aspects of social structure.

Bates and Benigni (1975) study the use of address in Italy. They have pointed out that among several factors, age seems to be the most important factor in the use of address terms or pronouns of address. Paulston (1976) as quoted in Renate (1985) has stuided the use of Pronouns in Swedish. Paulston has observed that Pronoun avoidence is common in Swedish, and the use of formal pronouns indicates distance between the addressee and addressor.

Strik (1980) has investigated the use of modes of address in Iran. According to his study, an Iranian gives importance to social status and professional titles that mark differences. The solidarity semantic is frequent in use because of influence of a hierarchical social structure. He makes a contrastive study of forms of address in America

and Iran, and finds that structural relations in systems of address vary according to the role these play in a culture.

Constable (1980) points out that Malian French retains the sociolinguistic features in modes of address which have become obsolete in France. The use of T and V is required in Mali. Therefore, their use is retained in Malian French.

A study by Fang and Hang (1983) suggests that address norms are changing in Peoples Republic of China. They have pointed out that the use of address terms as well as address pronouns have been influenced by the social and political changes that have taken place.

Renate (1985) shows that the choice of pronouns and terms of address in News Deutschland depends on a number of factors such as the kind of text, party membership, social class and role. In certain situations there is a conflict among the prescribed norms, the informal pronouns, and the speaker's intuition about a situation. This can lead to pronoun avoidance or pronoun switching specifically. The study shows that investigation

of written texts could lead to insight into language variation if an access to the spoken language is impossible.

1.3. Earlier Studies of Modes of Address in Indian Languages

The use of modes of address including pronominal choice has been studied in different works for several Indian languages. A brief review of such works is presented.

Jain (1973) has studied pronominal usage in Hindi in detail. Jain points out that pronouns in Hindi have two meanings: a 'normal' and a 'contextual' meaning. His study is concerned with these two types of meanings as expressed by second person pronouns of Hindi.

He shows that the three second person pronouns of Hindi (i.e., **tu, tUm** and **āp**) are used with five possible verbal forms, which yield six acceptable combinations. A brief history of structural discriptions of pronominal usage among Delhi speakers is given. He shows how certain pronominal forms that are found in spoken dialect are not accounted for in grammars of Hindi. He reviews the work already done on pronouns. He shows how choice of pronoun is governed by context and relationship.

He describes the meaning of various pronominal forms used by an individual. He describes the relationship between the pronoun meanings and the attitudes of people towards their usage and how one affects the other.

He describes the role of 'no naming' among affinal relations naming being a taboo among these relations. The use of different kinds of names conveys different meanings and the same holds for 'no naming'.

He explains the social basis of pluralisation and points out that the grammatical function of pluralisation is separate from its social function. He points out how the rules of social usage can be used to recover deleted pronouns in cases where syntactic rules are not sufficient. Rules of pronominal usage are considered in relation to other form of speech behaviour.

At the end he argues that the use of kinship terms of address is not independent of pronominal usage. Kinship terms of address are governed by the same rules, used for pronominal usage. He discusses the normal and the contextual meanings of kinship terms of address in a given context or structure and their

co-occurrence with pronominal forms of address.

Goswami (1974) also describes the usage of **tu, tUm** and **āp** in Hindi as a function of age, social status and family relationship etc. The pronoun **āp** is used always in formal situations and also for the persons having higher social status. Kalra (1974) explains the use of modes of address and pronominal usage in Hindi with the help of illustrations of various types. Bhatnagar (1975) briefly discusses the usage of second person pronouns in Hindi. He presents the usage of modes of address in family, educational institutions and in some other situations. He points out the social factors like age, sex, status, etc., which determine pronoun choice and modes of address.

Misra (1977) describes how the terms of address and pronominal forms are used to show equality, status differences, intimacy and distance, etc., in Indian society. He presents the co-variances between the various kinds of social relationships (defined on the basis of family status and caste attitudes, etc.) and modes of address.

In order to make the analysis objective, Misra has chosen four novels of Prem Chand,

viz., **Gaban, Godān, Nirmalā** and **Sevāsadan**, and uses these as sources of data for terms of address and second person pronominal usage in the Hindi spoken in the region of Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh. The interpersonal relationships and attitudes of the people in this particular region are closely related with the terms of address and pronominal usage found in the corpus represented by novels.

In his introduction (1-13) to the book, Misra states that the usage of terms and pronouns of address is correlated with social status and caste attitudes and with familial relationships. He gives a table of Hindi pronouns and their forms in different cases. Besides the second person pronouns, terms of address include: caste name terms, kinship terms, first names, diminutive first names and terms associated with professions. The author has outlined the organisation of a society, based on caste system in four different **Varna's** keeping in view certain social customs, the organisation of families, interpersonal relationships, etc.

In the second chapter, the author distinguishes two main axes in his study:

1) The Contextual Dimension.

2) The Dyadic Relational Dimension

Setting up these dimensions for a socio-linguistic study of the usage of second person pronouns and terms of address is important and useful as the text of novels provides adequate data for analysis along these dimensions.

In the third chapter, he presents a detailed analysis of the data drawn from the four novels. The author discusses the usage of second person pronouns and terms of address between speakers having different professional, social and familial relations. In the conclusion, he presents generalisations based on the data he has analysed.

Venkitachalam (1981) provides a brief description of the semantic and morphological features of personal pronouns in Malayalam. He discusses socially restricted common forms of address based on caste.

In Malayalam, among friends and relations, the reciprocal **nii** is used within the family, elders use non-reciprocal **nii** but in all other situations **ninna**, the more polite form is used.

Pronominal usage also varies according to status differences. Professional titles as well as an honorific address form **saar** are also widely in use.

Pronominal forms that are used when addressing Malayalam Brahmin priests and persons of the ruling classes are **tirumeeni, tirumanassə** and **tampuraan**. These terms are used by lower caste people to address them. The term **tampuraan** may be used to address any person of markedly superior social status. Certain expressions are restricted to royal families: **tirumkham trikkaṇ**. The terms **aviṭunn, iviṭunn** and **aṅṅunnə** are not necessarily caste bound. They can be used for persons of any caste.

Lakshmi Bai (1981) points out the second person polite plural forms used non-reciprocally in educated families between husband and wife in various South Indian languages.

Mehrotra (1981) describes the non-kin forms of address in Hindi in relation to various socio-cultural settings of the dyads using them. He has drawn the data for analysis from Hindi one-act plays and from native speakers of Hindi residing in and around Banaras in North India.

He illustrates the use of common modes of address in Hindi like full formal name (FFN), first name (FN), abbreviated first name (AFN), nick name (NN) and last name (LN). Then he discusses the use of honorific suffixes like **ji, bābu, seṭh, ṭhakur, mahto, lālā, sāhib, pandit** in different situations. The various titles and names used in Hindi have been classified into: state titles, official titles and occupational titles. Occupational titles have been again classified into occupational titles with name and occupational titles without name. He has shown the importance of social settings and contexts in determining the choice of modes of address. Multiple uses of address forms according to the speaker's purpose is indicated in the mode of summoning someone and in greeting phrases, invocation and addressing pets. At the end he discusses the situations in which the use of address forms is unintentionally or deliberately avoided.

Analysing the use of terms and pronouns of address in a Hindi novel **Godan** of Premchand, Ravi Prakash (1983) has pointed out that the status of the participants plays an important role in the usage of pronouns and terms of address in Hindi.

Thirumalai (1983 : 13-40) lists various non-linguistic factors that govern the choice of different modes of address related to women. The description of these factors is on the basis of a socio-psychological analysis of language use. Certain norms have been discussed for the choice of modes of address within the family and social circle in various contexts and situations.

Koul (1984) describes the modes of address in Kashmiri. His study deals with the relation an addressee has with the addresser in society. He classifies Kashmiri native speakers into two categories on the basis of religion (i.e., Hindu, Muslim). Further sub-division among Hindus and Muslims has been made on the basis of their professions and family background.

In Kashmiri, there are three types of second person pronouns of address: (1) non-honorific singular, (2) honorific singular and (3) plural (both honorific and non-honorific). The honorific singular and plural forms are the same.

Beside personal pronouns of address Kashmiri modes of address include interjections (both honorific and non-honorific), names (first name, diminutive name, nick name, surname) and titles.

The use of these modes of address is described under three main headings: social, professional and familial dyadic relations.

1.4. Earlier Studies of Punjabi Address Behaviour

No sociolinguistic work has been carried out in depth on the use of modes of address in Punjabi so far, although the traditional and modern grammarians of Punjabi do mention the distinction between the various pronominal forms of Punjabi. (These will be discussed in the next Chapter).

Walia (1977, 1979) makes some remarks on the use of modes of address in Punjabi. He indicates that modes of address reflect kinship, age, caste, region, occupational and social status, and the religion of the speaker and addressee.

The present work is the first detailed study of the use of modes of address and pronominal usage in Punjabi.

1.5. Methodology

To investigate the use of various modes of address and pronominal forms, data have been collected from the following main sources: observation and experience, discussions,

questionnaires and literary texts.

Keen observation of various situations involving different participants has helped the investigators to understand the usage of forms of address. While two persons are talking with each other, one can observe what forms they are using; how the forms vary according to social context; and what type of relationship an addressee has with the addresser. It is easy to observe the status, age, caste, sex, etc., of the participants which condition their choice of modes of address. The investigators have taken notes on the usage of modes of address, that they have observed.

A questionnaire was designed and administered among respondents belonging to different categories of age, sex, education and social status, and the data thus collected was analysed. The results reveal not only the particular choices of modes of address but also their frequency.

The questionnaire (see Appendix) starts with personal information about the respondent (name, place of birth, sex, age, religion, education and occupation). It has three parts

elicidating data on the use of modes of address by the respondent in three different sets of dyadic relations: (1) familial, (2) social and (3) professional.

The category of familial relations suggested a list of all possible kinship relations (both consanguineal and affinal). The category of social relations includes different types of social dyadic relations such as landlord/tenant, master/servant, friend, stranger, acquaintance, neighbour, etc. The category of professional relations includes different professional dyadic relations: shopkeeper/customer; doctor/patient; teacher/student; lawyer/client; official/petitioner; etc., and persons of other various professions. The respondents furnished the required information and a number of them also furnished additional information under 'Remarks'. This information was quite useful in understanding the actual situations and the socio-economic background of the participants.

In addition, modes of address were frequently discussed with native speakers. These discussions were useful in finding out the frequency of the use of certain modes of address

in different situations.

Besides the above sources, we have drawn data from different types of literary texts in Punjabi. Works of fiction, especially plays, present the actual use of modes of address in different life like situations. We have selected nineteen novels and plays for the present study. Sentences from the texts were written on separate cards along with contextual notes. These cards were arranged according to different social dyadic relations.

In the present work the data thus collected have been arranged and analysed in different sections. Wherever the data from the texts are used, reference to the source is also given in parentheses. Data which are not referenced have been collected by other means: observation, discussion and questionnaires.

1.6. Scope of the Present Work

The study of modes of address (including pronominal forms) is an imortant subject from both a theoretical as well as a pedagogical point of view. We have seen above that the use of modes of address has been studied for a number of European as well as Indian languages, in one form or another from a sociolinguistic

point of view. The results of these works show interesting parallels between social structures and the structures of the use of address sytems in a number of languages. Especially the studies of the modes of address in Indian languages indicate the existence of common social structures and cultural patterns among people belonging to different linguistic groups. A study such as this one will also be useful in making comparisons of the usage of modes of address among languages. Knowledge of such usage would also help in understanding the social structures of the people concerned.

This subject is very important from a pedagogical point of view also. It is very useful for first language learners to understand the frequency of the usage of the forms of address in their mother tongue. The learners are able to make distinction between informal and formal forms of address in different situations. In a second language teaching and/or learning situation, the teaching and learning of these forms of address is very important. A second language learner of Punjabi must be taught the actual use of all the informal and formal modes of address. A learner must be able to

use different types of modes of address in different situations. The use of modes of address may be incorporated into the design of instructional materials.

The aims of the present study are two-fold: (1) To describe the use of modes of address and pronominal usage of Punjabi in detail with data drawn from different sources including questionnaires and literary texts and to make comparisons of the usage of the modes of address in Punjabi with other Indian languages, as a help in understanding the social structure of the various people of India. It may also be possible to discover some universal characteristics in the use of modes of address and pronominal usage and (2) The second aim is pedagogical. This study can be useful in the preparation of instructional materials both for first and second language teaching/learning of Punjabi. As such the study attempts to provide an adequate description of various sample situations which a language learner is likely to face.

- - - -

2. SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND DYADIC RELATIONS

2.1. Social Structure of Punjabi Speakers

For a study of modes of address and pronominal usage in Punjabi, it is important to understand the social structure of the people who speak Punjabi in and outside the state of Punjab in India. Punjabi is spoken natively by three major religious communities - Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims.

2.1.1. Hindus

Traditionally, Hindus are classified into four major castes **(varnās)**: Brahman, Kashtriya, Vaishya and Shudra. Each group contain more than one sub-caste **(jāti)** of varying status. These were formed originally on the basis of the division of labour. These groups maintained working relations with each other at different levels. Several professional groups emerged from these castes. Among Shudras, best known as Harijans, a three-way distinction is made among (1) Chamār, (2) Chimb and (3) Bhangi.

These groups generally live in separate sections of villages and towns. There is little free interaction between the people of these caste and other cates. Rather, they have lived in isolation from other caste groups for a long period of time. In contemporary Indian society, the rigidity of the caste system has lessened to some extent and various methods have been implemented by Government and voluntary agencies to shatter the barriers of the caste system.

2.1.2. Sikhs

Sikhs have emerged as a strong religious community cutting the bonds of the traditional caste system prevalent among Hindus. The Sikh Gurus condemned the caste system, preached the unity of all people and did not recognise traditional castes. Though in practice the caste consciousness has not yet completely died out. Mazhabi Sikhs belonging to lower professional castes are still considered lower in social status.

2.1.3. Muslims

Muslims also do not believe in the caste system. The community is mainly divided into two groups 'Pirs' (the class of priests) and

non-priests. There are of course traditional professional groups in this community. Since partition Muslims are in the minority in Indian Punjab.

The horizontal differences within the same caste rank have also been noted. Caste is not the sole factor of determining the status. Caste is an integrating and cohesive factor, because it covers not only kinship ties but political and economic relationships too. Hierarchies of caste, class and power are clearly visible in a village community, these hierarchies criss-cross each other, but do not fully coincide. A higher caste person may have or have not a corresponding higher ranks in class and power hierarchies. Horizontal differences within the caste imply that a caste is not a homogenous group. Previously the higher caste enjoyed superior position on the basis of their higher ascriptive ranks. Now, they enjoy higher status on the basis of their higher performance. In rural areas, we still find caste and class group to be influential and powerful. Thus modes of address may be determined on the basis of caste social stratification and multi-dimensional factors like class, power and style.

2.2. Hierarchical Structure

On the hierarchical structure, a four-fold distinction is made among the people on the basis of profession (Atam Singh, 1980 : 96): (1) Agricultural class, (2) Business class, (3) Artisan class and (4) Labour class. The business class comprises **Banias, Sunārs** and **Aroṛās.** The artisan class includes **tarkhāns** (carpenters), **lohārs** (blacksmiths), **nāis** (barbers), **kumhār** (potters), **lilari** (dyers), and **jhiurs** (those who draw water from wells). The labour class includes **Chamārs, Ramdāsis, Bālmikis, Majhabies,** etc.

These professions are mostly hereditary. In the labour class, there exist differences in social strata. No homogeneity is found within the same caste group. Though the grouping is made on the basis of profession, as far as modes of address are concerned, upper class people use honorific forms of address at home and outside the home, but lower class people use non-honorific forms of address at home and honorific forms of address outside home. Certain socio-economic factors are responsible for ongoing changes in professions. Some of the professions, being more beneficial from the economic point of view, attract persons

from less prosperous professional groups. For example, a woman belonging to a Brahmin family may adopt the profession of **jhuri** or scrubbing of utensils.

Traditional values are fast changing under the influence of widespread education and modern professions. These have been responsible for re-assigning social status. It is easy to find people belonging to a lower class by family background and profession who have attained higher social status and thereby broken through old values and the traditional caste system.

2.3. Social Structure and the Modes of Address

The use of modes of address and second person pronouns depends on the interpersonal relationship of the addresser and addressee and on the different situations in which the interaction takes place. It is essential to keep in view the social structure of the people in order to understand the use of modes of address.

The sources of the data collected for this study have been described in the preceding section. The social structure of the people is reflected in the novels, plays, short-stories,

etc., from which the data have been largely drawn. The books selected for the present study are written by eminent Punjabi writers like Nanak Singh (1897-1971), Kapoor Singh Ghumman (b.1927), Surjit Singh Ṣethi (b.1928), Gudial Singh Khosla (b.1912), Harcharan Singh (b.1919), Amrita Pritam (b.1919), Balwant Gargi (b.1916), Kartar Singh Duggal (b.1917), Narinder Paul Singh (b.1924), Sant Singh Sekhon (b.1908), Devinder (b.1926) and Jaswant Singh Kanwal (b.1919). These works are deeply influenced by present day Punjabi society and reveal different aspects of day-to-day life. All these Punjabi writers belong to the Punjab and have command over the Punjabi of different regions, which they use in their writings. All these writers use standard as well as some colloquial variety of Panjabi. In their novels and plays, rural illiterate characters use some local form of Panjabi. One of the traditional features of the speech of such people is that they would always use non-honorific forms of address without taking into consideration the age, sex or status of the people they are addressing. In contemporary society, one notices considerable change on this point among village folk, due to widespread education,

industrialization and certain other social reforms Mobility brings change in the attitudes of people, in their status, and relationships. They attempt to use modes of address and pronominal forms appropriate to their new social situation.

Although there has been tremendous change in the lives of villagers, non-honorific forms are still in common use. The villagers belong to a closely knit socio-cultural pattern; most of them are closely related with one another. It has been observed and supported by data that villagers tend to use mostly non-honorific forms of address like **bapu** for father, **bebe** for mother in order to show intimacy and affection. They avoid the use of honorific form of address in all situations.

2.4. Terms of Address and Terms of Reference

The form **babu, bebe** also show the actual relation an addresser may have with an addressee. Their use sometimes creates ambiguity, because these forms can be used for grand-father/grand-mother as well as for father/mother. In a joint family, a child picks up those terms of address used by his father and mother and other members of the family when addressing other elders of

the family. Over a period of time this (form of address) becomes a standard form of address for members of the second as well as the first generation. The term loses its original meaning and becomes more like a personal name used to identify a particular person individually. A number of examples of this type were observed among respondents.

Term of address	*Original meaning*		*Term of reference*
pàbi	'brother's wife'	for	'mother'
caca	'father's younger brother'	for	'father'
∂mma/bebe	'mother'	for	'grand-mother'
bapu	'father'	for	'grand-father'
bai	'brother'	for	'father's younger brother'
pàIa	'father'	for	'brother-in-law'
bebe	'mother'	for	'mother's elder sister'

This phenomenon is very common in joint families where kinship terms of address are very frequently used to identify an addressee.

Thus in the above examples, there is no one to one correspondence between terms of address and their referent. Terms of reference

denote the actual relation an addressee may have with the addresser; but the term of address shows the actual form used by an addresser for the addressee. Sometimes to avoid ambiguity and to make the distinction between the different referents of a single term of address a speaker uses **vəḍḍi bebe** for 'grand-mother', **choṭṭi bebe** for his or her 'own mother'.

In rural areas, though caste/creed distinctions are maintained, generally the inhabitants maintain close social relations with each other and use familial relational terms of address for each other: **əmma** 'mother', **tai** 'father's elder brother's wife', **caca** 'father's younger brother', **taIa** 'father's elder brother' etc. Age is also taken into account here. If an addressee is quite old, she/he may be addressed as **tai/əmma/caci, taIa/caca**, etc., but if he or she is younger or the same age as the addresser then he or she is addressed by FN/NN or terms like **pài, pɛ̀ṇ**, etc.

In a rural society, due to one's close familial relations and intimacy with others, mostly non-honorific forms of address are used. Honorific terms of address are used for

addressees who are outsiders or people with whom one comes into contact only occasionally. Age is sometimes not taken into consideration in this framework, e.g., usually a younger sister is addressed by her FN/NN before marriage, but after marriage formal forms of address may be used for her. Similarly, cross-cousin relations may be addressed by their full names suffixed with the honorific **ji** or by formal kinship term of address like **bir ji / pὲn ji**, etc.

Though in rural areas a daughter-in-law normally uses non-honorific terms of address for her father-in-law, there are other behavioural patterns for showing respect to him; i.e., to cover one's face, not to speak before him, not to sit on a chair or a cot in his presence.

A single individual plays different roles in his society. In the familial relationship, actual kinship term is not always used for a particular person, certain standard forms are used for each and every person, whether he/she has familial relation with him or not. For example, terms like **ã̃nṭi** 'aunt' and **ə̃kəl** 'uncle' are very frequently used for addressing elders.

They are attached not necessarily to particular persons in the family but also to all strangers, neighbours or acquaintances, provided they are older than the speaker. In such cases their use does not reveal a particular kinship relationship between the addresser and addressee.

Among familial relations, we do not find any variation in the modes of address used for mother's elder brother, mother's elder sister, mother's sister's husband, or for father's elder brother and younger brother. It is very rare to find the use of other terms, i.e., **massi** for **bebe**. As mentioned above this is because of the influence of other members of the family. Sometimes, when a child grows up and becomes conscious of the actual kinship relation he has with a given person, he then switches to the appropriate kinship term of address.

2.5. No-Naming

Calling or referring to certain relatives by name is taboo in affinal relations in both rural and urban areas. A wife may be called by her first name or a nick name by her husband or by his son's name like **raṇe di bebe** 'Rana's mother' but she never addresses her husband by

his first name or nick name. She usually addresses her husband by using her son's name like **raṇe de bapu** 'Rana's father', etc., and sometimes only by honorific suffix **ji** as **ji, mɛ̃ kɪ́a, sunde ni, bolde ni.**

Though naming is a taboo in rural areas, rural women usually use the non-honorific pronoun **tũ** when addressing their husbands. In urban areas, the polite or honorific pronoun **tʊsĩ** is also used.

Some people living in rural areas, never address their elders or youngers by their personal names but only with such forms as **bai/pɛṇe/bibi** though naming is not taboo in this situation. Such terms appear to be more informal and intimate.

Some people use first name/full name, for an elder or younger addressee with whom they are acquainted. With strangers this rule is not applicable. Mostly the term **ji** an honorific suffix is used as an address form. It correlates with the use of the honorific pronoun **tʊsĩ**.

2.6. Dyadic Relations

There are three main dyadic relationships possible between individuals who enter into

communication in given context. These are: (1) familial, (2) social and (3) professional. Under familial dyadic relations, there is a network of familial relationships which includes relations both from the paternal as well as the maternal side. There are different hierarchical levels of relations determined by age, sex and status of participants and by context. These relations can be of two types: (1) Consanguineal and (2) Affinal. Consanguineal relations include parents, siblings, chidren, etc., and affinal include spouses and other relatives on the side of spouses.

Social dyadic relation include the various roles a person plays in society, e.g., landlord, tenant, neighbour, friend, a stranger, an acquaintance, etc.

Professional dyadic relations are developed when two persons come into contact through their professional practice: doctor/patient, shopkeeper/customer, etc.

As seen above the social structure determines variations in the use of modes of address. These variations may be geographical, stylistic and social. Two inter-related concepts: (1) Social context and (2) Role-relations are

to be taken in view while discussing addressing forms from sociological angle. Members of community do not seem to have concious definite norms in the use of addressing terms, these vary depending on the speaker, the addressee, the situation and the setting.

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3. TYPES OF MODES OF ADDRESS

Modes of address are of various types- interjections, second person pronouns, kinship terms and names of address (nick names, family pet names, diminutive first names, surnames, professional titles, etc.). In this section each of these address forms is discussed under separate sub-headings.

3.1. Interjections of Address

Corresponding to the English interjection **Hey** and hindi-Urdu **əre**, in Punjabi we have both non-honorific and honorific interjections of address agreeing with the addressee in number and gender. These interjections are normally used for attracting the attention of the addressee.

3.1.1. Non-honorific

Non-honorific forms of interjections are as follows:

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
ve	ve	ni	ni
o	o	o	o
oe	oe	oe	oe
e	e	e	e

When these interjections are used, the following vocative case markers are added to any accompanying terms of address:

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
-Ia	-Io	-e	-o

Examples:

Singular

Interjection	*Addressee*	*+ Case marker*	
ve	mŨṇḍa	+ Ia	ve mŨṇḍIa 'Hey boy'
o	mŨṇḍa	+ Ia	o mŨṇḍIa 'Hey boy'

Inter-jection	*Addressee*	*+ Case marker*	
oe	mŨṇḍa	+ Ia	oe mŨṇḍIa 'Hey boy'
ni	kUṛi	+ Ie	ni kUṛIe 'Hey girl'
e	kUṛi	+ Ie	e kUṛIe 'Hey girl'
oe	kUṛi	+ Ie	oe kUṛIe 'Hey girl'

Plural

ve	mŨṇḍe	+ Io	ve mŨṇḍIo 'Hey boys'
o	mŨṇḍe	+ Io	o mŨṇḍIo 'Hey boys'
oe	mŨṇḍe	+ Io	oe mŨṇḍIo 'Hey boys'
ni	kUṛi	+ Io	ni kUṛIo 'Hey girls'
o	kUṛi	+ Io	o kUṛIo 'Hey girls'
oe	kUṛi	+ Io	oe kUṛIo 'Hey girls'

It is to be noted that **ve** is frequently used for addressing males and **ni** for addressing females. When case markers are added, the forms of address undergo certain morphophonemic changes:

a + Ia > Ia

e + Ia > Ia

The interjections are used mostly for emphasis and identification of addressee. The interjections may optionally be followed by a pronominal form, a kinship term of address or the personal names of address.

Examples:

1. ve mŨṇḍIa kItab lIa
Hey boy(VOC) book bring
'Hey boy! bring the book'.

or

1a. mUṇḍIa kItab lIa

2. o mŨṇḍIa meri gəl sUṇ
Hey boy(VOC) my talk listen
'Hey boy! listen to me'.

or

2a. mŨṇḍIa meri gəl sUṇ

3. oe mŨṇḍIa tũ kItthe cəlla?
Hey boy(VOC) you where going
'Hey boy! where are you going?'

or

3a. mŨṇḍIa tũ kItthe cəlla?

4. ni kUṛie tũ apṇa kəmm kər
Hey girl(VOC) you your work do
'Hey girl! do your work'.

or

4a. kUṛie tũ apṇa kəmm kər

5. e kUṛIe tere pItaji kə̀r hən?
Hey girl(VOC) your father(HON) home(LOC) is
'Hey girl! is your father at home?'

or

5a. kUṛIe tere pIta ji kə̀r hən?

6. ve mŨṇḍIo tUsĩ ki kər rə́e ho
Hey boys(VOC) you what do- ing are
'Hey boys! what are you doing?'

or

6a. mŨṇḍIo! tUsĩ ki kər rə́e ho?

7. o mŨṇḍIo tUsĩ khəlo kyõ gəe ho
Hey boys(VOC) you stand why went are
'Hey boys! why have you stood up?'

or

7a. mŨṇḍIo! tUsĩ khəlo kyõ gəe ho?

8. oe mŨṇḍIo, kəl nũ kheḍḍã hoṇglã
Hey boys(VOC) tomorrow (at) games will be
'Hey boys! there will be games tomorrow'.

or

8a. mŨṇḍIo kəl nũ kheḍḍã hoṇglã

The interjection may optionally be followed by a pronominal form, a kinship term of address or the personal names of the addressee.

Examples:

(a) Interjection + Pronominal Form

9. ve tere kolõ ó nIkəl kIvẽ gəi
Hey your from she escaped how went
'Hey! How she has escaped from you?'
(BG.1968:43)

10. ve tũ tã kəmḷa ẽ
Hey you(EP) also foolish are
'Hey! you are foolish'. (BG.1968:43)

11. ve mɛnũ sə́b pəta e karlã da
Hey to me all know is work of
'Hey! I know what you do'.
(BG.1968:50)

12. o mere malək tUaḍe ehsan da bədla
Hey my master your kindness of revenge

mɛ̃ kItthe dlãga
I where give will
'O! my master, how can I repay your
kindness?'
(NS.1944:110)

(b) Interjection + Kinship Terms of Address

13. oe práva, é tã teri
Hey brother(VOC) this also your

pàbi e
borhter's wife is
'Hey brother, she is your sister-in-law'.
(BG.1970:80)

14. o práva, jan vi de befəzul
Hey brother(VOC) go also let useless

gəllã
talks
'Hey brother, cut this nonsense'.

15. ve pUtta, mã hi jaṇdi hɛ Is
Hey son(VOC) mother only knows is this

piṛ nũ
trouble to
'Hey son, only a mother can experience
this pain'.
(BG.1968:72)

16. ni mã pIpəl de ṭán ṭUṭ-ṭUṭ
Hey mother pipal(VOC) of branch breaking

pɛ̃de ne
falling is

'Hey mother, the branches of the pipal tree are breaking'.
(BG.1970:52)

17. ve pài tũ kɔṇ e?
Hey brother you who are
'Hey brother, who are you?'
(BG.1972:93)

18. ve vir loka cari vi te
Hey brother(VOC) social custom also TM
kǝrni pɛ̃di hɛ
todo falls is
'Hey brother, we have to observe social customs'.
(KSG.1971:44)

(c) Interjection + Personal Names

19. ve ramu! mɛ̃ tere kol ki bɛṭhã
Hey ramu (VOC) I your along what sit
'Hey Ramu! how can I sit along with you?'
(KSD.1954:37)

20. oe cǝ̃̀ḍu, mera kòṛa tIar e?
Hey chandu(VOC) my horse ready is
'Hey Chandu! is my horse ready?'
(BG.1968:52)

21. ni prItto tũ mere kol a ke
Hey Prito(VOC) you my near come (and)
bɛṭh ja
sit go
'Hey Prito! come and sit along with me'.
(KSD.1954:37)

22. ve ramIa, kǝ̀r ja
Hey rama, home go
'Hey Rama! go home'.

23. o mɔ́na! cǝl kǝ̀r cǝlIe
Hey mohana(VOC) go home go-we
'Hey Mohan! let us go home'.

24. oe aŝu, sǝkul da kǝmm kǝr
Hey ashu(VOC) school of work do
'Hey Ashu! do your school work'.

25. e ǝ̃nju, meri kItab lIa
Hey anju(VOC) my book bring
'Hey Anju, bring my book'.

3.1.2. Honorific

Interjections **e** and **o** can also be used as polite or honorific forms of address. They are not frequent in use, however,

Examples:

26. o ŝá ji sare pĨḍ de tUsĩ malIk ho
O shah ji, whole village of you owner are
'O Shah ji, you are the owner of the whole village'.

27. e babuji, ǝjj-kǝl kIse te vIŝvas
Hey babuji, these days anybody on believe
na kǝro
not do
'Hey babuji, don't believe anybody these days'

28. o vǝkil sáb, mera kǝmm kǝr deo
Hey vakil sahib! my work do give
'Hey vakil sahib, please do my work'.

3.2. Second Person Pronouns of Address

Second person pronouns of address are very frequently used in Punjabi as in other languages. Traditional and modern grammars and other descriptions of Punjabi available make a

distinction between the various pronominal forms of Punjabi.

	I person	*II person*	*III person*
Nominative:			
Singular	mɛ̃	tũ	ó
Plural	əsi	tUsĩ	ó
Agentive:			
Singular	mɛ̃	tũ	ó
Plural	əsã	tUsã	óna
Dative:			
Singular	mɛnũ	tɛnũ	ónu
Plural	sànu	tUànũ	ónanũ
Ablative:			
Singular	mɛttõ	tɛtthõ	one
Plural	sàtthõ	tUatthõ	onánũ
Object genitive:			
Masc. Sg.			
Singular	mera	tera	óda
Plural	sàḍa	tUàḍa	ónada
Mas. Pl.			
Singular	mere	tere	óde
Plural	sàḍe	tUàḍe	ónade
Fem. Sg.			
Singular	meri	teri	ódi
Plural	saḍi	tUaḍi	ónadi
Fem. Pl.			
Singular	meriã	teriã	odiã
Plural	sàḍia	tUàḍia	ónadiã

3.2.1. Pronouns and Inflections

First, second, third person pronominal forms are inflected for number and case. The first and second person pronouns have forms for nominative, agentive, dative, ablative and genitive cases. Third person pronouns are used as demonstratives as well. They do not inflect for gender and number. Punjabi is distinct from Hindi in the use of agentive singular case markers. Whereas in Hindi, the agentive **ne** is added to all three pronouns, in Punjabi **ne** postposition is required. For example: in Hindi **/mɛ̃ ne kəha/**; in Punjabi **/mɛ̃ kía/** 'I said'.

In Punjabi **/apanũ/** is a colloquial form and is occasionally used in place of **/tUànũ/**. The pronoun **/ap/** is occasionally used in place of **/tUsĩ/** under the influence of Hindi and Urdu. The plural forms of second and third person pronouns can be used for singular referents as honorific forms. The pronoun **/tũ/** shows intimacy; **/tUsĩ/** is a more formal form of address.

3.2.2. Second Person Pronouns and Their Usage

The singular non-honorific forms are used for addressing people of lower status,

youngsters and reciprocally friends and equals in informal situations. The singular honorific forms are used to address persons of higher status, elders and reciprocally strangers and other educated adults.

In Punjabi there are two pronominal forms of address, i.e., **tũ, tUsĩ/ap**. The marginal pronominal form **ap** is used sometimes under the influence of Hindi and Urdu. **tũ/tUsĩ** correspond to four different possible verbal forms in the imperative.

tũ ---------- a ----------- v+Ø

tũ ---------- ai ---------- v+i

tUsĩ -------- ao ---------- v+O

tUsĩ -------- aṇa --------- v+ṇa

These verbal forms are not mutually interchangeable. For example, **tũ** can be used only with verbal form **a** and **not** with **ao**. Similarly, **tUsĩ** can be used with **ao** and not with **a**. Thus we can say that there is agreement between subject pronoun and verbal form.

The second person **tũ** pronominal form correspond to two different verbal forms **a** and **ai**. The difference between these two verbal forms is not social, but rather one of timing of action. The expression **tũ a** for

example, expresses the action 'to come just now' but **tũ aĩ** means 'come (at an indefinite time in future)'. Thus we find a semantic difference between these two verbal forms. There are two different forms of pronouns of address as **tũ, tUsĩ/ap** in the singular, **tUsĩ lok, tUsĩ** in the plural. The plural form is used for both honorific singular and plural. **lok** is also added to **tUsĩ** for showing the plurality.

Thus, the following are the basic second person pronouns:

	Singular	*Plural*
II person non-honorific	tũ	tUsĩ
		tUsĩ lok
II person honorific	tUsĩ	tUsĩ
		tUsĩ lok
	ap	ap
		ap lok

As said above, second person honorific form **ap** is used very rarely in Punjabi. The pronominal form **tUsĩ** is used both for honorific as well as for non-honorific. Examples are given below:

3.2.3. Second Person Non-honorific Pronoun

The non-honorific second person singular **tũ** is mostly used in informal situation or in addressing intimate friends or persons of lower social status or youngsters to show affection. It is not uncommon in rural areas to find uneducated boys and girls addressing their parents with **tũ** in informal situations. It is frequently used as a form of address for elders in rural areas.

29. mɔ́ṇ tũ əmbale to kədõ aIa?
Mohan you Ambala from when came
'Mohan, when did you come from Ambala?'

30. mUnni, tũ mera Ik kəmm kəregi?
Munni, you mine a work do will
'Munni, will you do something for me?'

31. ramu, tũ e pɛse seṭh ji nũ de
Ramu, you this money Seth HON to give
a
come
'Ramu, you give this money to Seth ji'.

32. bapu, tũ tã meri gɛl məṇda i nə́i?
Bapu, you CP mine talk accept EP not
'Bapu, you do not listen to me?'

33. vir, tũ mɛnũ pɛse ni dəega?
Vir, you to me money not give will
'Vir, won't you give me money?'

The pronoun **tUsĩ** is used both for plural as well as for singular. But here **tUsĩ** is used

in informal situations to address more than one person, for instance for addressing a group of one's friends. Sometimes **lok** is added to **tUsĩ** to show plurality.

Examples:

34. hUṇ tUsĩ Is bəs vIc jaoge?
now you(Pl) this bus in go will
'Now you will go by this bus?'

35. tUsĩ lok(Pl) meri gəl te višvas kəro
you people mine talk on believe do
'You people believe in what I say'.

3.2.4. Second Person Honorific Pronoun

The second person singular honorific form of address **tUsĩ/ap** is used to address elders and others who are higher in social status. It is also used for friends in formal situations, and for youngsters for showing affection or for being sarcastic. This form of address is normally used by educated people. Examples are given below:

36. tUsĩ kəl nũ saḍe kə̀r aṇa
you tomorrow to our home come
'You, come to our home tomorrow'.

37. tUsĩ bɔ́t dIna bad mIle
you long days after met
'You met after a long time'.

38. tUsĩ bəzar kədõ jaoge?
you bazar when go will
'When will you go to bazar?'

39. tUsĩ mɛnũ kədo mIloge?
you me when meet will
'When will you meet me?'

40. tUsĩ hUṇ səkul jao
you now school go to
'Now you go to school'.

The use of **ap** is not frequent. It is used in formal situations only.

Examples:

41. apji da tə̀nnvad
your(HON) of thanks
'Thanks to you'.

42. mɛ̃ apji di ki seva kər
I your(HON) of what service do
səkda hã
can am
'What service can I do for you?'*

The second honorific pronouns **tUsĩ, tUsĩ lok, ap lok,** are used to address elders and persons having higher social status. While addressing larger groups of people, particular modes of address like **ap lok, tUsĩ lok**, etc., are used. Examples are given below:

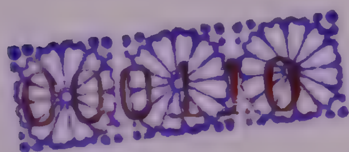
43. ap lokã nũ é jan ke khUši
you people to this know CM glad
hovegi
will be
'You will be glad to know this'.

44. tUsĩ lok meri gəl bəṛe tĩan nal
you people my talk very care with

sUṇo
listen
'You listen to me very carefully'.

Following are forms of the second person pronouns used in the dative case and ablative case:

	Singular	*Plural*
II person non-honorific	tɛnũ	tÙanũ
II person honorific	tUanũ	tÙanũ
	apnũ	apnũ
		ap loka nũ
		tUsĩ loka nũ



tÙanũ is used for the honorific singular as well as the plural. **ap nũ** is very rarely used. **tɛnũ** and **tetthõ** second person non-honorific pronouns are used only in the singular.

Examples:

Intimate friends:

45. tɛnũ mɛ̃ huṇ kIve səmjàvã
to you I now how to tell
'Now how will I tell you?'

46. tetthõ é kəmm kIvẽ ni hũda
from you this work how not do
'Why can't you do this work?'

Youngsters:

47. tɛnũ̃ mɛ̃ ki kÍa si
to you I what said had
'What did I tell you?'

48. tetthõ é ḍIbba ni bə̃d hoṇa
from you this tin not close to be
'You can't close this tin'.

Lower status:

49. tɛnũ̃, mɛ̃ kəl aṇ ləi kÍa si
to you I tomorrow come for said had
'I had told you to come tomorrow'.

50. tetthõ meri gəl da jəvab kIõ ni
from you my talk of reply why not

dItta jãda
given goes
'Why don't you reply me?'

The second person non-honorific plural pronominal forms **tÙanũ̃, tÙatthõ** are used both for honorific singular as well as for non-honorific plural.

51. tÙanũ̃ é kItab bəzar vIc nə́i mIlegi
to you this book bazar in not get will
'You will not get this book in the bazar'.

52. tÙanũ̃ əpṇe des di seva kərni
to you your country of serve do

cə́idi hɛ
must is
'You must serve your country'.

The term **tUàtthõ** is usually used by parents to address their children. A parent or an elder brother may use this term to address his/her children or youngster in anger (to show sarcasm or distance).

53. tUàtthõ mẽ ki as kər səkda hã
from you I what hope do can am
'What(hope) can I expect from you?'

54. tUàtthõ tã choṭe choṭe kəm vi nə́i
from you TM small small work EP not

ho səkde
happen can
'You cannot do even small work'.

The second person honorific singular **tUànũ, apnũ** are used to address elders and others having higher social status or for showing deep affection to youngsters.

Examples:

Elders:

55. tUànũ meri gəl da bura nə́i məṇna
to you my talk of ill not accept

cə́ida
must
'You must not take it ill'

56. apnũ əpni sét da khIal rəkhna
to you your health of care take

cə́Ida hɛ
must is
'you must take care of your health'.

Youngsters:

57. tÙànũ mẽ dUd piṇ lǝi kÍa si
to you I milk take to said had
'I told you to drink your milk'.

Social status:

58. tÙànũ mẽ pέlã vi kÍa si
to you I early also told had
'I have already told you'.

A term **apnũ** is sometime used to address an audience of more than one person.

59. apnũ é jan ke dUkh hovega
to you this know CM sorrow will be
'You will be sorry to know this'.

Similarly, **ap lokã nũ** and **tUsĩ loka nũ** are used to address people in groups.

Following are the forms of the second person pronouns used in the genitive case:

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
II Person non-honorific	tera	tera	teri	teriã
	tUaḍa	tUaḍe	tUaḍi	tUaḍiã
II Person honorific	apda	ap lokã da/ apde	apdi	ap lokã diã
			ap lokã di	ap diã
	tUaḍe lokã da	tUaḍe lokã de	tUàḍe lokã di	tUàḍe lokã diã

The genitive pronouns agree with the possessor in person and status and with the possessed in number and gender.

60. tera kə̀r kItthe hɛ
your home where is
'Where is your house?'

61. tera mŨṇḍa ki kəmm kərda hɛ
your son what work do is
'What does your son do?'

62. tere prá da ki nã hɛ
your brother of what name is
'What is your brother's name?'

63. teri kUṛi əjjkəl ki kərdi hɛ
your daughter these days what does is
'What type of work does your daughter do these days?'

64. teriã kItabã kItthe hən
your books where are
'Where are your books?'

65. tUaḍa səkul tUaḍe kə̀r tõ kInni
your school your home from how much
dur hɛ
far is
'How far is your school from your home?'

66. tUaḍe lokã da šUkkrIa mɛ̃ kIve kərã
your people of thanks I how do
'How can I thank you people?'.

67. apda kəmm kəro tUsĩ ja ke
your work do you go CM
'Go, and do your work'.

Here the term **apda** is used in anger.

68. mɛ̃ tUaḍe kərã tõ cə̃nda Ikəṭṭha
I your houses from donation collect

kər lIa hɛ
do taken have
'I have collected donations from your houses'.

The term **tUaḍe lokã da** is used, to address an audience of more than one person as in the example given below.

69. mɛnũ əfsos hɛ kI tUaḍe lokã de
to me sorry is that your people of

kər jəl ke rakh ho gəe hən
houses burnt of ashes has been
'I feel sorry, that your houses have been burnt to ash'.

70. tUàḍi pɛ̀ṇ kéṛe səkul vIc pəṛdi hɛ
your sister which school in study is
'In which school does your sister study?'

71. mɛ̃ hã ap di beṭi rəma
I am your of daughter Rama
'I am your daughter Rama'.

72. tUaḍiã kItabã mej te pəlã hən
your books table on lying are
'Your books are lying on table'.

73. e ləṛai ap lokã di jan da
this war your people of life of

khətra baṇ səkdi hɛ
danger become can be
'This war can prove dangerous to your life'.

74. tUàḍe lokã di nəzrã vIc mɛ̃ cor hã
you people of sights in I thief am
'You people think I am thief?'

3.3. Kinship Terms of Address

In the study of kinship terms of address, various socio-cultural patterns must be taken into account. According to Radcliffe Brown, "A kinship system is a network of social relations which is the social structure. The rights and duties of relatives to one another are part of the system and so are the terms used in addressing or referring to the relatives" (1970:13).

Distinction among the kinship terms is to be made on the basis of biological or genealogical variables. On the basis of biological relations, kinship terms may be classified into two broad categories:

1) Consanguineous and
2) Affinal.

On the basis of genealogical relations, these two kinship relations (Consanguineous and Affinal) may be classified into three degrees of order relations: (a) First order relation, i.e., father/mother, brother/sister, son/daughter, husband/wife; (b) Second order

relations, i.e., father's sister, father's brother, father's mother, father's father, mother's mother, mother's father, etc.; and (c) Third order relations, i.e., father's father's father, mother's mother's mother, father's brother's son, mother's sister's son, etc.

Kinship terms of address that are used for three distinct relations may be classified into two broad catetories:

1) Descriptive and
2) Classificatory.

In descriptive kinship terms of address, various addressing terms are used for first and second order relations, but for third order relations, kinship terms of address are more or less the same as used for second order relations. We do find the difference in kinship terminology; because the same stem is added with all relational terms like **pəṛdada** for father's father's father, **pəṛdadi** for father's father's mother and **pəṛnani** for mother's mother and **pəṛnana** for mother's father's father.

Mostly the kinship terms in Punjabi are used as modes of address. Various kinship

terms are used as modes of address for different kinship relations:

a) First Order Relation

Kinship relation	*Terms of address*
Father	ḍɛḍi, bai, pIta ji, papa ji, bapu, paIa.
Mother	mƏmmi, bebe, Əmma, mã, bibi, bi ji.
Son	Nick name (NN), First name (FN), Diminutive first name (DFN), FN + ji, pUtt, beṭa, pUttƏr.
Daughter	NN, FN, DFN, FN +ji, beti, pUttƏr, tie.
Brother	papa ji, vir ji, prá ji, vir, pai sáb.
Sister	pɛṇ ji, pɛ̀ṇ, didi, didi ji.
Husband	FN, sur name + sáb + sƏrdar ji, lala ji, sUbáš de bapu.
Wife	FN, NN, sUbáš di bidi.

b) Second Order Relations

Paternal

Kinship relation	*Terms of address*
Grand-father	dada ji, bai, baba, bapu.
Grand-mother	dadi ji, dadi, bebe, Əmma, biji.
Father's elder brother	taIa ji, taIa.

Kinship relation	*Terms of address*
Father's younger brother	cacaji, caca.
Father's sister	pua ji, pua.

Maternal

Kinship relation	*Terms of address*
Grand-father	nana ji, bapu ji, bai, bai ji.
Grand-mother	nani ji, əmma, biji, bebe.
Mother's brother	mama ji, mama.
Mother's sister	massi ji, massi.

Affinal

Kinship relation	*Terms of address*
Mother-in-law	mata ji, biji, bebe ji, əmma ji, bebe, mã ji.
Father-in-law	pIta ji, bai ji, bapu ji.
Husband's elder brother	pai sáb, pra ji, vir ji.
Husband's younger brother	FN, NN, vir.
Husband's sister	pɛ̀ṇ ji, NN, FN.
Daughter-in-law	bə́u, NN, FN.
Sister-in-law	pàbi ji, pàbi.

c) Third Order Relations

Kinship relation	*Terms of address*
Mother's father's father	nana ji, nana.

Kinship relation	*Terms of address*
Mother's father's mother	nani ji, nani.
Mother's mother's father	nana ji, nana.
Mother's mother's mother	nani ji, nani.
Father's father's father	dada ji, ḍada, baba.
Father's father's mother	dadi ji, əmma ji.
Mother's father's brother	nana ji, nana.
Father's father's brother	baba ji, taIa ji.
Mother's brother's wife	mami, mami ji.
Father's elder brother's wife	tai ji, tai.
Father's younger brother's wife	caci ji, caci.
Mother's sister's husband	masəṛ ji, masəṛ.
Father's sister's husband	phUphəṛ ji, phUphəṛ.
Wife's father's brother	taIa ji, caca ji, taIa, caca.
Wife's father's brother	taIa ji, caca ji, taIa, caca.
Husband's father's brother	taIa ji, caca ji, taIa, caca.
Wife's brother's wife	pàbi ji, NN, FN.

Kinship relation	*Terms of address*
Wife's sister's husband	jija ji, FN, Full name.
Husband's younger brother's wife	FN, NN.
Husband's elder brother's wife	pàbi ji, didi, pὲṇ ji.
Husband's sister's husband	jija ji, FN.
Father's brother's elder son	vir ji, pài sáb,
Father's brother's younger son	FN, NN.
Father's brother's elder daughter	pὲṇ ji, pὲṇ, didi.
Father's brother's younger daughter	FN, NN.
Father's brother's elder daughter	pὲṇ ji, pὲṇ, didi.
Mother's brother's younger daughter	FN, NN.

A distinction need not to be made among cross cousin relations, both from maternal and paternal side. As far as modes of address are concerned, they have equal status. The addressing forms that are used for them are same as used for one's own brother, sister like **vir ji, pài sáb, vir, pai**, etc., **didi, pὲṇ ji, pὲṇ**, etc.

Honorific suffixes **ji** and **sáb** are also

added in polite honofiric forms of address. There are certain restrictions as far as the use of these honorific suffixes is concerned. Whereas some kinship terms take both these suffixes, others do not. They are not interchangeable in certain cases.

Examples:

	ji	*sáb*		
pai	–	+	pài sáb	'brother'
vir	+	–	vir ji	'brother'
pa	+	–	pà ji	'brother'
∂mma	+	–	∂mma ji	'mother'
bai	+	–	bai ji	'father'
papa	+	–	papa ji	'father'
pɛṇ	+	–	pɛ̀ṇ ji	'sister'
mama	+	–	mama ji	'mother's brother'
massi	+	–	massi ji	'mother's sister'
taIa	+	–	taIa ji	'father's elder brother'
pua	+	–	pùa ji	'father's sister'
phuph∂ṛ	+	–	phUph∂ṛ ji	'father's sister's husband'

Similary in Muslim community **jan** is added to kinship terms of address:

	ji	*jan*		
∂bba	+	+	∂bba ji/jan	'father'

pài	-	+	pài jan	'brother'
əmmi	+	+	əmmi ji/jan	'mother'

3.4. Other Terms of Address

Names of individuals (first name, diminutive first names, first and middle names, surnames) and professional titles are very frequently used as the modes of address. These terms may be followed by honorific suffixes like **ji** or **sáb** for changing them into polite forms of address. Whereas **ji** is used with all the personal Hindu/Sikh names, **sáb** is added mostly to the male surnames of Hindus/Sikhs. These honorific suffixes are appended to names as follows:

First Name

	ji	*sáb*		
ram	+	-	ram ji	'Ram ji'
rajiv	+	-	rajiv ji	'Rajiv ji'
pəvən	+	-	pəvən ji	'Pavan ji
mədú	+	-	mədú ji	'Madhu ji'
ram sIṅ	+	-	ram sIṅ ji	'Ram Singh ji'

Diminutive First Name

ramu	+	-	ramu ji	'Ramu ji'
bIṭṭu	+	-	bIṭṭu ji	'Bittu ji'
ə̃nju	+	-	ə̃nju ji	'Anju ji'
səvi	+	-	səvi ji	'Savi ji'

First Name + Middle Name

ram lal	+	-	ram lal ji	'Ram Lal ji'

ram nath	+	-	ram nath ji	'Ram Nath ji'
Ĩndu bala	+	-	Ĩndu bala ji	'Indu Bala ji'

First Name + Middle Name + Last Name

	ji	*sáb*	
ram lal joši	+	-	ram lal joši ji 'Ram lal Joshi ji'
šam lal gUpta	+	-	sam lal gUpta ji 'Shyam lal Gupta ji'
nina rani gUpta	+	-	nin rani gUpta ji 'Nina Rani Gupta ji'
renu bala šərma	+	-	renu bala šərma ji 'Renu Bala Sharma ji'

Surnames

Honorific suffixes **ji** and **sáb** are both used with vowels and consonants ending surnames.

	ji	*sáb*		
gUpta	+	+	gUpta ji/sáb	'Gupta ji/Sahib'
košəl	-	+	košəl sáb	'Kaushal Sahib'
méta	+	+	méta ji/sáb	'Mehta ji/Sahib'
vIrdi	-	+	vIrdi sáb	'Virdi Sahib'

Professional Titles

The honorific suffixes **ji** and **sáb** are used with some professional titles. But **sáb** is used with professional titles of both males and females. The honorific morphemes **ji** and **sáb** may also be used independently by the juniors or youngsters, etc., in addressing senior officers or elders in formal situations. They may also be used to strangers in addressing each other.

Examples:

English

	ji	*sáb*	
masṭər	+	–	masṭər ji/sáb 'Master Sahib/ji'
mənejər	–	+	mənejər sáb 'Manager Sahib'
profesər	–	+	profesər sáb 'Professor Sahib'
Inspɛkṭər	–	+	Inspɛkṭər sáb 'Inspector Sahib'
ḍakṭər	+	+	ḍakṭər ji/sáb 'Doctor Sahib/ji'
kɛpṭən	–	+	kɛpṭən sáb 'Captain Sahib'
InjnIar	–	+	InjnIar Sáb 'Engineer Sahib'
prInsipəl	–	+	prInsipəl sáb 'Principal Sahib'
sUpərṭenḍənṭ	–	+	sUpərṭenḍənṭ sáb 'Superintendent Sahib'

Persian and Arabic

vəkil	–	+	vəkil sáb 'Vakil Sahib'
khəjanci	–	+	khəjanci sáb 'Khajanci Sahib'
sərpənc	+	+	sərpənc ji/sáb 'Sarpanc Sahaib'
maulvi	–	+	maulvi sáb 'Maulvi Sahib'

	ji	*sɪb*	
təsildar	–	–	təsildar sáb 'Tehsildar Sahib'
dIvan	–	+	dIvan sáb 'Diwan Sahib'

Certain professional terms which are derived by adding the forms of the suffix **vala** agreeing with subject in number and gender are also used as modes of address. Following are its forms:

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
səbzi	vala	vale	vali	valiã
dÙd	+	+	+	–
cae	+	+	+	–
rIkša	+	+	–	–

Notice that case markers are also added after the forms of the suffix **vala**.

Professional Title	*Modes of Address*
səbzi + vala + e	səbzi vale 'vegetable seller'
dÙd + vala + e	dÚd vale 'milkman'
rIkša + vala + e	rIkša vale 'rickshaw puller'

Some professional terms like **jəmadar** 'sweeper', **tòbi** 'washerman', **mocci** 'cobbler' are also used as modes of address.

The above study shows that the use of vocative forms is very common in Punjabi community. The frequency of using vocative forms like **ni, ve, oe** is very high to address youngsters and for those having equal social status. Similarly, honorific suffixes like **ji** and **sáb** are frequently used. Only **sáb** is used to address an officer. **sáb** is also added to those addressing terms used to address females like **memsáb, ḍakṭərsáb**.

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4. MODES OF GREETINGS AND MODES OF ADDRESS

4.1. Modes of Greetings

Modes of greetings have their own value in the sociology of language. In every greeting situation, two persons come in contact in a particular ethnic situation, which is characterised by means of some paralinguistic features like gesture, statements, etc. Goffman (1963: 91) has called it an 'ethnography of encounter'. Greeting is the primary necessity that satisfies the socio-psychological need of the individuals in a given society.

Modes of greetings are closely correlated with modes of address. Like modes of address, modes of greetings are also related with socio-linguistic factors like, age, sex, status and interpersonal relationships, etc. A greeter uses greeting forms appropriate to particular situations by taking into account these socio-linguistic factors. Greeting is not regarded merely a usage of certain norms,

but it is a social ritual which is governed by the situations in which the greeter says what is expected by greetee in one way or another. It is used either to welcome or to say good bye.

4.2. Verbal and Non-verbal Greetings

As in other languages, in Punjabi there are two types of modes of greetings, i.e., (1) verbal and (2) non-verbal. Both types of greetings can either be formal or non-formal. Verbal greetings appear in the form of utterance of greeting phrases like **nəməste, sət səri əkal, pɛri pɛṇa,** etc. Non-verbal expressions and gestures of greetings may include smiling, nodding, hugging, closing of eyes, bowing of head and twinkling of eyes, etc. Though there is a difference between these two types of greetings, but both of them are characterised by social setting, context and interpersonal relationships. Mostly, non-verbal greeting gestures and verbal greeting utterances are combined in an actual situation. Both verbal and non-verbal greetings are used in different kinds of formal and non-formal situations.

Most of the fixed verbal greetings are used both in oral conversation and in writing.

Usually, formal verbal greeting forms are used in writing. In rural areas, illiterate people do not use any formal greeting forms but start their conversation by the non-formal verbal forms like:

1. oe, tũ kədõ aIa
   o, you when came
   'When did you come?'

2. a bəi vira, kIvẽ aIa e
   come on brother, why came is
   'Come on brother, what brings you here?'

Sometimes, employees of lower status do not use modes of greetings for greeting superiors. A husband and a wife generally do not use formal verbal greeting terms for greeting each other. The same is true among children. A daughter-in-law in rural areas always greets her elders by formal non-verbal forms of greeting. Usually, formal greeting forms are also used in a situation when one wants to apologize someone or seeks help of others. The literal meaning of a few greeting phrases are not relevant in many cases. They are characterised by some sort of mystifications as in the examples:

3. cə̃ga pher mIlãge
   O.K. later will meet
   'Expecting to see you later'.

4. ki hal ɛ əmlie (BSG.1959:40)
what condition is Amlia
'Amlie, how are you?'

5. ki hal cal hɛ
what condition is
'How are you?'

To enquire about greeter's health is a common social ritual in Punjabi community. (It does not mean that greeter has gone through an ailment).

Modes of greetings also vary from culture to culture and society to society. Every culture has some stero-typed non-verbal greeting forms peculiar to it, like kissing, embracing, bowing, salutation, hand shake and touching of feet. In Punjabi culture, greetings like embracing, touching of feet and hand shake are common in use (but other gestures like kissing, bowing and salutation are used in specific contexts). Kissing at forehead or at cheeks is possible in a context when parents greet their children. When two persons having familial relations or close intimacy meet occasionally, they generally embrace each other (common among adults and old people). Educated people of equal status and same sex shake hands and greet by verbal forms

like 'hello'. In certain formal situations, greeter and greetee fold hands and shake both hands, but in other situations only with single hand. Friends of equal status always greet each other by verbal greeting forms and non-verbal gestures like handshake, pat on face or back, closing of eyes, etc. When there is an intimacy between greeter and greetee the age factor is not taken into account in such situations. Greetings are also related with etiquette: a greeting has no value unless a person has etiquette, e.g., if he/she refuses to extend his/her hand for greeting or takes seat without permission, etc.

In the contemporary modern society in urban areas, the parents greet their son by the greeting form 'hello'. The son also greets his parents in return by the same greeting formal verbal form.

6. hɛlo beṭa sáb (KSD.1954:12)
hello son (HON)
'Hello! son'.

7. hɛlo əmmi (KSD.1954:12)
hello mother
'Hello! mother'.

In a formal situation, a younger person folds his/her hands or touches the feet of

elder one's while uttering the formal modes of greeting.

8. nəməste, ãnṭi (KSD.1954:68)
nmaste, aunt
'Namaste, aunt'.

9. caca, ram ram (D.1973:156)
uncle, Ram Ram
'Uncle, Ram Ram'.

10. sət səri əkal, prá ji (KSG.1970:26)
Sat Sari Akal, brother (HON)
'Brother! Sat Sari Akal'.

11. adab, caca jan (D.1973:110)
adab uncle (HON)
'Adab, uncle'.

In a formal situation sometimes a greetee slightly bends down while shaking hand with the greeter. This gesture shows extra politeness and respect.

Verbal greetings are avoided in few situations which might involve distrubance to others like while watching a play, a movie, listening to a lecture, or any serious action in progress. Physical distance and intensity of emotion also prevent the use of verbal greetings. In such type of situations, non-verbal greetings like smiling, nodding of the head, facial gesture and lifting and

waving of hands are used. Strangers may or may not use formal greeting forms before starting a conversation.

Like verbal greetings, non-verbal greetings are also used in formal as well as in informal situations appropriate to contexts.

4.3. Fixed and Alternative Greetings

In Punjabi two types of greetings are used: (1) fixed greetings and (2) alternative greetings. In fixed greetings, most of the responses can be predicted. In alternative greetings, responses may vary from person to person, according to situations.

4.3.1. Fixed Greetings

Among the fixed greeting forms between Hindus **nəməste, nəməskar** are very frequently used. **nəməste** is less formal than **nəməskar**. **nəməste** and **hɛlo** are generally used among friends, colleagues, acquaintances and strangers of equal status. **nəməskar** is frequently used in formal situations. The greeting forms **ram-ram** and **jɛ ramji ki** are mostly used by illiterate and less educated people and usually by those who have migrated from U.P., Bihar to Punjab. **jɛ ram ji ki** is more formal than

ram-ram. The use of the fixed address forms is not always reciprocal. Sometimes, their use varies according to the status of participants and situations. For example, a labourer and a junior will use **nəməskar** or **jɛ ram ji ki** for the person of higher social status and may receive **nəməste** a non-verbal, non-formal greeting form in return.

Among the fixed formal greetings between Hindus and Sikhs **sət səri əkal, hɛlo** and **nəməste** are used by Hindus to greet Sikhs. Mostly verbal forms **sət ṣəri əkal** or **hɛlo** are used by Hindus to greet Sikhs. The term **nəməste** is rarely used as compared to **sət səri əkal** or **hɛlo**. These terms are used to greet persons or equal social status and age. These greeting forms are used both in formal and non-formal situations by taking into account the different social factors.

The verbal forms of greetings that are mostly used by the Sikhs to greet Hindus are **sət səri əkal** and **hɛlo**. Though **nəməste, nəməskar** are also used to greet Hindus but comparatively rare than **sət səri əkal** and **hɛlo**. These greeting forms are used to greet people of equal status and age both in informal

as well as formal situations.

Among the fixed verbal greeting forms between Sikhs, **sətt səri əkal** and **hɛlo** are generally used to greet seniors and friends of equal social status. The verbal greeting form **vá gUru ji ki fəte**, is generally used among Sikhs to greet saints, religious priests or **grənthis, sevadars** (workers in Gurudwaras) and to those who perform ritual ceremonies in and outside Gurudwaras. These terms of greetings are uttered by the Sikh religious leaders, saints, etc., in addressing religious or social congregations.

Mostly Sikhs use **ədabərz, səlam** and **hɛlo** as modes of greetings for addressing the Muslims and get in return the same terms. Muslims also address Sikhs by **sət səri əkal** also.

Among the fixed greeting forms, Muslims use **əslam aləikum, ədabərz** and **ədab** in addressing another member of the same community. In response to the greeting form **əslam aləikum** they normally get the greeting form **valəikum səlam** in return.

There is a reciprocal use of **ədabərz, ədab, səlam, hɛlo** between a Muslim and Hindu/Sikh.

Very rarely a Muslim may address a Hindu by **nəməste** or **nəməskar** and address a Sikh by **sət sri əkal**. Educated Muslims may use neutral greeting term **hɛlo** also in certain situations.

It is to be noted that the fixed verbal greeting forms can be used both in formal as well as in non-formal situations depending on the participants and contexts. Another important aspect of the use of these forms is that mostly there is a reciprocal use of the fixed greeting forms. (Sometimes the responses do not remain fixed). A greetee may use any of the forms of greetings in response to the greeting form used for him by the greeter.

4.3.2. Alternative Greetings

Alternative greetings are of two types: formal and non-formal. The expressions used for alternative greetings may enquire about general well-being of the addressee, indicate respect towards the addressee, indicate affection, good wishes or blessings from elders for young ones. The examples of formal and non-formal alternative greeting expressions are given below:

Formal

Greeter

12. ki   hal   e
what condition is
'How are you?'

Greetee

12a. mérbani
kindness
'Your kindness'

12b. dūa   e   tUàḍi
blessings are your
'Your blessings are with me'.

12c. ṭhik e tUsĩ dəsso
well is you say
'I am fine. How are you?'

12d. cə̃ga e
good is
'I am fine'.

Greeter

13. təkṛa e
strong are
'Are you fine?'

Greetee

13a. hã tUàḍi kIrpa   e
yes your kindness is
'Yes, it is your kindness'.

Greeter

14. kĨve gÚjər rə́i e
how pass - ing is
'What is going on?'

Greetee

14a. rəb di kIrpa e
god of kindness is
'It is a kindness of God'.

Non-formal

Greeter

15. sUna yar khub ṭhaṭ ne
say friend much glory is
'Say friend, are you enjoying?'

Greetee

15a. moj kərda ã
enjoy do-ing are
'I am enjoying'.

Greeter

16. ki hal cal e
what condition is
'How are you?'

Greetee

16a. həzur di mérbani
majesty of kindness
'Sir, it is your kindness'.

Greeter

17. kĨve cəl rÍa e
how going is
'How are things going on?'

Greetee

17a. sə́b həzur di mérbani
all majesty of kindness
'Sir, it is all your kindness'.

Non-verbal greetings also appear in alternative responses.

Examples:

Greeter

18. mətttha ṭekda
    forehead bowing
    'I bow my forehead'

Greetee

18a. jUg jUg ji
     eternity live
     'May you live long'.

18b. rəb tɛnũ raji rəkkhe
     god to you well keep
     'May God keep you healthy'.

18c. rəb tɛnũ pUttər deve
     god to you son give
     'May God bless you with a son'.

Greeter

19. pɛri pɛṇa
    feet to fall
    'I touch (your) feet'.

Greetee

19a. jĩuda rə́vẽ
     living remain
     'Live long'.

These greeting forms are used for elders for whom respect is intended. They are also combined with the gesture of bowing or touching the feet. In informal non-verbal greetings,

gestures are used to greet concerned persons. Gestures like bowing one's head, touching of feet, etc., are very common. The elders in their response also use gestures in giving blessings, etc.

In Punjabi, welcome forms combined with terms for good wishes are also used as modes of greetings.

Examples:

20. jiaIã nũ, bɛṭho (KSG.1970:34)
welcome to sit
'Welcome and sit down'.

21. tusĩ vi bIrajo prĨsipəl ji
you also take seat principal (HON)
(KSG.1970:30)
'Principal (please) take your seat'.

22. təšrif rəkkho, mənejər sáb (KSG.1970:30)
keep manager (HON)
'Manager, (please) take your seat'.

23. a kUṛe tãmba, a kəĩ (BSG.1959:56)
come girl Tamba come several
dIna tõ nə́i ai
days from not came
'Come on Tamba, where were you so long?'

Greeting terms like **nəməste, sət səri əkal** are used by a large number of educated and uneducated people, living in the Punjab. These greeting forms can be used by persons

of any rank, age and sex.

Greeting phrases related with one's health and of well being are invariably used in Punjabi like:

24. ki hal cal e, təkṛa e (HS.1965:64)
what condition is fine is

ləmbəṛdar
lambardar
'How are you, are you fine lambardar?'

25. sUṇa yar khub ṭhaṭ ne (BSG.1972:90)
tell yar very enjoy is
'Tell me friend, are you enjoying yourself very much?'

26. raji e kUṛe (HS.1965:64)
well is daughter
'Daughter, are you fine?'

27. ki hal e tìe (BSG.1972:91)
what condition is daughter
'Daughter, how are you?'

It is a common feature among orthodox people to make use of such type of compliments like:

28. tũ te bɔ́t kəmjor ho gəi e
you also very weak become went is

mɛ̃ te tɛnũ pəcchaṇ vi na səki
I also to you recognize EP not could
'You have got so weak, I could not recognize you'.

These remarks type greetings are used by near and dear ones, when they meet after

a long period of time.

Some modes of greetings are related to a particular religious community. For example, the following greeting forms have their meanings in the practice of Sikh religion only:

vá gUru / vá gUru ji ki fəte / vá gUru ji ka khalsa, vá gUru ji ki fəte

"The Khalsa belongs to God, may God victory be yours"!

While addressing an audience at religious gathering or congregation such type of greetings are used in which glory of God is praised.

Blessings in the name of God are also used as modes of greetings like:

29. rəb tUà̀ḍa pə̀la kəre
    God your welfare do
    'May God bless you!'

30. rəb tUànũ pUttər deve (BSG.1959:54)
    God to you son give
    'May God bless you with a son!'

31. rəb tUàḍi sét bəṇai rəkkhe
    God your health made keep
    'May God keep you always healthy'.

32. rəb i rakha hɛ
    God only protector is
    'God protects (all)!'
    or
    'Only God protects!'

When the younger people bow down to touch the feet of elder ones, the elders give their blessings with reference to greetee's health, prosperity and longivity.

Examples:

33. jUgg-jUgg ji (Sekhon 1974:84)
long live
'May you live long'.

34. cənga pai jĨũda rəve (BSG.1970:57)
well brother live remain
'Brother, you may live long'.

35. tũ pUtra jUg-jUg (JSK.1970:24)
you son(VOC) eternity
jivẽ ga
live will
'Son, may you live long!'

36. jiũdi rəvẽ, teri (BSG.1959:25)
live eternity your
bel vədé
creeper increase
'Live long and prosper'.

37. bUḍḍ sUágəṇ, (BSG.1959:54)
old whose husband is living
dÚd pUtt vali hove
milk son of be
'May your husband live long, and be blessed with son!'

38. bəcce jivIa (BSG.1959:54)
child live long
'Child, may you live long!'

sədke jā̃vā̃ is also a form of blessing which is very commonly used by elder one's.

39. mɛ̃ sədke jā̃vā̃ apṇe pUtt te (BSG.1959:22)
I call go own son of
'May my life be added to my son!'

4.4. Correlation Between Modes of Greetings and Modes of Address

The modes of greetings are deeply correlated with the modes of address. The modes of greetings are used before a conversation is started and also before parting. The greeting forms are mostly used first by the youngsters for elders or by juniors to seniors. The greetee then reciprocates by the use of appropriate modes of greetings. The modes of address can be commenced by any participant irrespective of his age, status, etc.

Generally, modes of address are used along with the modes of greetings. The forms of address may either precede or follow the greeting forms.

1) Modes of Address + Verbal Greeting

ḍakṭər sáb	+	nəməsta/sət səri əkal
šərma ji	+	sət səri əkal
ə̃nkəl/ā̃nṭi	+	nəməste
caca/mata ji	+	ram-ram

bibi	+	nəməste
bapu ji	+	sət səri əkal

2) Verbal Greeting + Modes of Address

səlam	+	sáb
sət səri əkal/ nəməste/hɛlo	+	ḍakṭər sáb
nəməste	+	ə̃nṭi
sət səri əkal	+	prá ji
hɛlo	+	sər
pɛri pɛṇa	+	pabi
ədab	+	caca jan

Examples are as follows:

40. sət səri əkal práji (KSG.1970:26)
Sat Sari Akal brother(HON)
'Brother, Sat Sari Akal'.

41. nəməste ə̃nṭi (KSD.1954:68)
namaste aunt
'Namaste, aunt'.

42. pɛri pɛṇa pabi (BG.1972:93)
feet touch sister-in-law
'Bhabi, I touch your feet'.

43. əccha bibi nəməste (KSD.1954:68)
well bibi namaste
'Bibi, namaste'.

44. hɛlo, sIvəl sərjən sáb (KSD.1954:83)
hello, civil surgeon sahib
'Hello, Civil Surgeon Sahib'.

45. bapu ji, sǝt sǝri (Sekhon 1974.94)
father(HON) Sat Sari

ǝkal
Akal
'Father Sat Sari Akal'.

The modes of greeting form part of modes of address. Modes of greeting have therefore not been studied in isolation or unrelated to the forms of address. There are clear out selectional restrictions in the combined use of the terms of greetings along with the forms of address. As shown in the examples given above, the modes of greeting may either precede or follow the forms of address. The use of terms of greeting and the terms of address are influenced by social context and participants.

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5. USE OF MODES OF ADDRESS : (ANALYSIS OF DATA)

Here in this chapter we attempt to classify the various modes of address (including pronominal forms) under three main types of dyadic relationships: familial, social and professional.

5.1. Familial Dyadic Relations

As pointed out above, familial dyadic relations include relationships both from the paternal as well as the maternal side. The usage of different modes of address depends on the type of relationship an addresser may have with the addressee in the hierarchy of kinship relations.

A few kinship relations on both the paternal and maternal sides are considered to be more or less of equal status. This is reflected in the forms of address used by the participants. For example, the maternal grand-father and grand-mother have the same kinship status as the paternal grand-father and grand-mother,

respectively. Similarly, paternal uncle and maternal uncle, paternal aunt and maternal aunt, son and son-in-law, daughter and daughter-in-law, father and father-in-law have the same kinship status. Normally the same modes of address are used for either member of these kin pairs.

Following is the description of such kinship relations explaining the use of different types of modes of address:

5.1.1. Brother to Sister

An elder brother may address his sister by her first name or nick name, but he will receive a formal form of address in return. But a younger brother always uses a particular form of address or a pet family name for addressing his elder sister such as **didi, pɛ̀n, pɛ̀ne, bibi,** etc. Similarly, a sister may address her elder brother by **vir, vir ji, prá, prá ji,** etc. It has been observed that in certain cases, when the brother and sister are not much different in age, they use first names, diminutive first names or nick names in addressing each other.

5.1.1. Elder Brother to Younger Sister

1. sUnita teri pəṛái kɛsi
   Sunita your studies how

cə́l rə́i hɛ
go- ing is
'How are your studies going on Sunita?'

2. sətnam, apni sɛ́li nal meri
Satnam self friend with my

Ĩnṭroḍəkšən nə́i kərɔṇi (HS.1965:42)
introduction not do(CAUS)
'Satnam, won't you introduce me to your friend?'

Similarly, an elder brother Jagdish addresses his younger sister by her diminutive first name:

3. əccha sUna, tari, khub (NS.1944:4)
well tell Tari, great

raji-khUši rə́i
happily is
'Tari tell me, did you spend your days happily?'

4. mUnni, tere Imtiā́n kədõ ho rə́e hən
Munni, your exams when hold-ing are
'Munni, when are your exams going to be held?'

In the examples, 1, 2, 3 and 4, Sunita and Satnam are first names, Tari is a DFN and Munni is a NN.

Though normally a younger sister does not address her brother by his first name or nick name, the forms of address that she uses are not always honorific. The terms **vir,**

vir ji, prá ji, pàpa ji, are general kinship terms used as modes of address in the examples given below:

5. vir, tũ kədõ jaẽga
   brother, you when go FUT
   'Brother, when will you go?'

6. prà mɛ̃ vi əje huni (HS.1965:65)
   brother, I also just now

   ai ã
   came am
   'Brother, I came just now'.

7. kha lɛ vir səjda kIõ e (HS.1965:65
   eat take brother shy why are
   'Take it, why do you feel shy'.

In the above examples, the terms used for elder brother may seem to be somewhat non-honorific, but they are used for showing affection.

Similarly, an elder sister may address her younger brother with kinship terms of address like **bir** or **vir** to show deep affection.

8. cəl bir tũ dÙd i (HS.1965:47)
   come brother you milk EP

   pi lɛ
   drink take
   'Brother, please take milk'.

5.1.1.2. Younger Sister to Elder Brother

A younger sister may also use an honorific

pronominal form of address (you 2) to show respect and affection.

9. vir ji, hun tUsĩ kədõ aoge
brother HON now you when come FUT
'Brother, when will you come back?'

10. pàpa ji, vir ji, chəḍḍ (NS.1944:67)
Papa HON, Vir HON, leaving

ke na jao
P don't go
'Brother, don't go leaving us behind'.

11. prà ji tUsĩ mere nal nə́i cəlo ge
brother HON you me with not come FUT
'Brother, won't you come with me?'

12. dekho prà ji tUsĩ pẽḍu
see brother (HON) you village of

kuṛiã nũ nəfrət kərde o
girls to hate do are
'See brother, you hate village girls'.

13. ki kéa je papa ji (NS.1944:67)
what said is brother HON
'Brother, what did you say?'

14. dev vir é ví te (AP.1969:40)
Dev brother this also then

devta di kIrpa e
God of blessings are
'Dev brother, they are also God's blessings'.

15. prem pàpe tũ ónu pÙll (D.1973:176)
Prem papa VOC you her forget
nə́i səkda
not can
'Prem (brother), can't you forget her?'

5.1.1.3. Younger Brother to Edler Sister

A younger brother addresses his elder sister with honorific forms of address like **didi, pɛ̀ṇ ji, pɛ̀ṇ, bibi.**

Notice that **pɛṇ** is not a formal term of address, but when used with a name, it indicates an honorific title used for a noble lady like **pɛ̀ṇ kəmla devi** 'Sister Kamala Devi'. Notice the following examples:

16. didi ji meri kəmiz si deo
    sister HON my shirt sew give
    'Sister, please sew my shirt'.

17. pɛ̀ṇ ji, mere səkul da kəmm kəra
    sister HON my school's of work do

    deo
    give
    'Sister help me in doing my school work'.

18. pɛ̀ṇ cəl bəzar cəlIe
    sister come bazar let's go
    'Sister, let us go to bazar'.

19. bɔ́t cə̃ga kita bibi (Sekhon 1974:96)
    very well did bibi
    'Sister, you did well'.

5.1.1.4. Elder Sister to Younger Brother

An elder sister may address her younger brother by his first name or nick name or with a kinship term of address like **bir.**

20. pəppu, ja apṇa kəmm kər
Pappu, go own work do
'Pappu, go (and) do your own work'.

21. as̆u, bəzar, tõ dəĩ lIa de
Ashu, bazar, from curd bring give
'Ashu, bring curd from bazar'.

5.1.2. Brother to Brother

It has been observed that at a young age, if there is not much age difference between two brothers, there is reciprocal use of first names or nick names. A younger brother normally switches over to honorific forms of address for addressing his elder brother, as they grow up. An elder brother uses polite forms of address for his younger brother only in formal situations.

5.1.2.1. Younger Brother to Elder Brother

A younger brother may address his elder brother by using particular kinship term of address such **vir ji, pài sáb, prà ji**. The form of address **vir ji** is very frequent and **pài sáb** and **prà ji** is very rarely used. **vir ji** shows much more intimacy than **prà ji** or **pài sáb** as in the sentences given below:

22. vir ji, mɛ̃ tUaḍe ləi roṭi llãvã
Vir ji, I you for bread bring
'Brother, may I bring meals for you'.

23. pȁi sáb roṭi kha ke jana
brother HON, meal taking EP go
'Brother, please go after taking your meals'.

24. prȁ ji bɛṭho (KSG.1967:32)
brother HON, be seated
'Brother, be seated (please)'.

Terms like **vir**, **bai**, etc., are also used by a younger brother addressing an elder brother. The term **bai** is mostly used as a mode of address by uneducated people.

25. vir kəl nũ cəlã jãi
brother tomorrow go
'Brother, go tomorrow'.

26. bai, tũ mɛnũ Ik bəld (Sekhon 74:54)
brother you to me a buffalo

lɛ de
purchase
'Brother, please purchase a buffalo for me'.

5.1.2.2. Elder Brother to Younger Brother

An elder brother may address his younger brother using a nick name or a first name as in the examples below:

27. kaka, apṇa paṭh jəbani yad kər
kaka, your lesson by heart learn do
'Kaka, learn your lesson by heart'.

28. pərvin, mɛnũ apṇe səkul da
Parveen to me own school of

kəmm vIkhao
work show
'Parveen, show me your school work'.

5.1.3. Sister to Sister

When there is not much age difference between two sisters, they address each other by their first names or nick names. In some cases, especially in formal situations, a younger sister uses particular terms of address, like **didi**, **pɛ̀ṇ ji** for her elder sister. In general **pɛ̀ṇ** and **didi** are very frequent terms of address. An elder sister may use a nick name or first name to address her younger sister.

5.1.3.1. Younger Sister to Elder Sister

29. pɛ̀ṇ mɛnũ əpni kə̀ṛi de de
sister t me your watch give
'Sister (please), give me your watch'.

30. didi meri ãnṭi tɛnũ bUla rə́I si
sister my aunt to you call-ing was
'Sister, my aunt wanted to see you'.

31. hã didi mɛ̃ rá pUll (D.1973:27)
yes sister I way forget
gəi si
went was
'Yes, I forgot the way'.

In case where there is not much age difference between the two sisters, they address

each other by their first names. In the examples given below, sisters address each other by diminutive first names:

32. lajo! lajo! rəbb de vaste (BG.1959:105)
Lajo! Lajo! God is sake

cUpp rɛ́
quiet be
'Lajo! Lajo! for God's sake please be quiet'.

33. dipo, kạ́ṛa Ubbəl gIa (BG.1970:105)
Deepo, medicine boiled has
'Deepo, medicine has been boiled'.

5.1.3.2. Elder Sister to Younger Sister

34. seema, tɛnũ məmmi bUla rə́i hɛ
Seema, to you mummy call-ing is
'Seema, mummy is calling you'.

35. bebi, mɛnũ tə̃ṅ na kər
Baby, to me disturb not do
'Baby, please don't disturb me'.

In the example given below an elder sister addresses her younger sister with kinship terms like **bibi** and **pɛ̀ṇ** to express her sympathy and to console her:

36. kàbər na bibi pɛ̀ṇ (NS.1944:84)
worry don't sister sister

sətt gUru tere ə̃ṅ sə̃ṅ e, bapu ji
true Guru you with is Bapu HON

tere kol ne
you with is

'Sister, don't worry, Sat Guru and
Bapu ji (father) both are with you'.

5.1.4. Son to Mother

A son generally addresses his mother by using particular modes of address used in the family like **məmmi, beji, bebe, məmmi ji, cài, mata ji, mã, mã ji, bi ji, əmmi,** etc. A grown up son uses honorific forms of address like **məmmi + ji, bebe +ji, mata + ji,** etc., in the presence of others, or sometimes to show affection. Otherwise non-honorific terms like **bebe, cài, mã** are frequent in use. Terms like **bebe** and **cài** are common among uneducated people. Examples are as follows:

37. məmmi, mɛnũ dəs rUpəe da noṭ de deo
    Mummy, to me ten rupee of note give give
    'Mummy, please give me a ten rupee note'.

38. məmmi bɛṭho, tUànũ Ik bɔ́t
    mummy be seated to you one very

    məjedar gəl sUṇaIe (HS.1965:96)
    interesting matter tell
    'Mummy, be seated, listen an interesting matter'.

39. cəl mã jədõ devãge (Sekhon 1974:42)
    come mother when will give

    Údõ kəṭa ləvãge bIaj
    then deduct take-FUT interest
    'Come (mother), interest will be deducted when we give money'.

40. ó te mUkk gIa e (KSG.1970:45)
that finish went has

bebe, a nə́i mUkka
bebe this not finished
'Mother that has finished, but not this'.

41. bebe hUṇ tera ki hal hɛ
mother now your what condition is
'Mother, how are you feeling now?'

42. hã cài mɛ̃ tɛnũ bɔ́t (D.1973:67)
yes mother I to-you very

tə̃ṅ kərnavã
trouble to give
'Yes mother, I create much trouble for you'.

Honorific forms of address are either used for showing deep affection for mother or they are used in the presence of others in a formal situation. Examples are given as under:

43. mã ji tUsĩ mere (Sekhon 1974:91)
mother HON you me

kol a jao
to come go
'Mother come near to me'.

44. bi ji jaṇdeo tUsĩ (ICN.1969:77)
mother HON go give you

jao bibi
go bibi
'Mother, let it be. Bibi you may go'.

45. mədmmi ji, dekho mere (HS.1965:94)
mother HON see my

nɔkər nũ mət kIse kəmm pèjo
servant to not any work send
'Mother, don't send my servant for any work'.

5.1.5. Mother to Son

A mother usually addresses her son by his first name or nick name. She always uses a non-honorific form of address while addressing her son, but an honorific form of address in the presence of others. She may also use **beṭa** or **pUttər** and **pUtt** to show affection.

46. kaka əjj cheti a gIa e
kaka today soon come went are
'Kaka, you have come very soon today'.

47. pər mɛ̃ vi ki kəra kIšən
but I also what do Kishan
'Kishan, what can I do?'

48. vIkki, əpṇa dÙd lɛ le
Vikky, your milk take take
'Vikky, take your milk'.

49. vIkas, məšin nũ na cheṛ
Vikas, machine to don't touch
'Vikas, don't touch the machine'.

Terms like **pUtt, pUttər, bəcce** are used to show deep affection as in the examples given below:

50. ve a pUtt mṹ (Sekhon 1974:87)
hey come son face

hətth tò te kəpṛe bədəl, thəkea
hands wash then clothes change tired

hõvega
will be
'Come on son, wash your hands and face
and change your clothes (dress), you
must be tired'.

51. Ĩndər! Ĩndər! Ĩndər beṭa (D.1973:170)
Inder Inder Inder son

na ja
not go
'Inder (my son) don't go'.

52. bəcca əsĩ koi vélĩã bɛṭhiã (HS.1965:78)
child we any idle sitting

sã
were
'Were we sitting idle son?'

A mother may also address her son with term like **pài, mŨṇḍIa, ve mŨṇḍIa,** etc.

53. ve pài mŨṇḍIa teri (Sekhon 1974:94)
hey brother boy your

bə́u tã bəṛi cəlak e
wife CP very clever is
'Brother (boy) your wife is very clever'.

54. bəs kər ve mŨṇḍIa, ɛ̃ve (Sekhon 1974:91)
stop do hey boy this

váddu gəllã na kərIa kər
much talk not do-ing do
'O' (boy) don't talk so much'.

55. ve jitIa kə̀ṛitea, əje (KSG.1970:45)
hey Jitya now

tera gənna nə́i mUka
your sugarcane not finished
'Jitya, didn't you finish your sugarcane yet?'

In the above example **kə̀ṛitea** is a sort of derogatory term added by the mother to the first name to show anger.

5.1.6. Daughter to Mother

A daughter might address her mother with either honorific or non-honorific terms. Normally a mother is addressed by her children with non-honorific forms of address. if a daughter is grown up, educated or has a higher status in society then she might address her mother with honorific forms. An honorific form is also used in the presence of others to show respect. But in rural areas a mother is addressed with non-honorific forms irrespective of the status of the addresser. Sometimes, sons or daughters tend to adopt those forms of address that are used by other members of family for the addressee like **pàbi**, etc.

Example:

56. pàbi ji, é (D.1973:18)
brother's wife HON this

sǝvɛṭǝr kIs da bǝna rǝ́e ho
sweater whose of knit-ing are
'Mother, whose sweater you are knitting?'

In the above example, the daughter addresses her mother with the term **pàbi ji** (normally used as an address term for brother's wife). Other terms of address are **mã̃, mata ji, mǝmmi, mǝmmi ji, mã̃ ji, cài ji, bibi ji.**

57. cǝl mã̃ ǝsĩ cǝlnĩã̃ (GSK.1950:12)
let mother we go

hã̃ ɛnũ rɛ̃ṇ de
is him live let
'Mother, let us go, let him stay here'.

58. mã̃ ji, ki gǝl e (HS.1965:38)
mother HON what matter is
'Mother, what is the matter?'

In the above examples Satnam addresses her mother by both **mata ji** and **mã̃ ji** in the presence of others.

59. cài ji, tɛnũ kInne (D.1973.23)
mother HON to you how much

var kÍa ɛs kǝ̀r vIc jã̃
times said this home in either

šIša rǝvega jã̃ mɛ̃
'Mother, how many times have I said, either I will remain in this house or the mirror'.

Besides terms of address, pronominal forms are also used in the example given above.

Though a daughter is addressing her mother with an honorific form of address, still she uses non-honorific pronominal forms along with it.

5.1.7. Mother to Daughter

A mother generally addresses her daughter by her first name, diminutive first name or nick name. She always uses non-honorific form of address while addressing her, but an honorific form of address may be used in the presence of others. She also uses terms like **tìe** 'daughter', **pUttər** 'son', **bəcci** 'child', etc., to show deep affection.

60. Uṭṭh kərmo, pó phUṭṭ (GSK.1950:9)
get up Karmo dawn burst

pəi e
laid is
'Karmo, get up, it is dawn'.

61. kUṛe jito, kIttho͂ ai ã (HS.1965:76)
girl Jeeto, where came is
'Jeeto, where from have you come?'

62. mUnni, šIv kore (Sekhon 1974:80)
munni, shiv kaur
'Hey girl! Shiv Kaur'.

63. sətnam! sətnam dərvaja klo͂ (HS..1965:42)
Satnam! Satnam door why

bə͂d kita i
close did is

'Satnam, why you have closed the
door?'

64. mUnni, tera tã̃ sIr mṹ (HS.1965:81)
Munni, your EP head mouth

aṭṭe nal pə̀rea pIa e
flour with full of laid is
'Munni, your head is full with flour'.

Terms like **pUttər, tìe, bəcca** are used to express deep affection. The term **pUttər** means 'son' but it is used for a daughter also for showing affection.

65. dəss pUttər
tell son
'Daughter, tell'.

66. pUl janni ã tìe, (GSK.1950:5)
forget go is daughter

ki kərã
what do
'Daughter, I forget what to do'.

67. hã səmə́j ɠəi hã (GSK.1950:9)
yes understand went is

bəcci
child (she)
'Daughter, I have understood'.

A kinship term of address like **bibi** is also used by the mother to address her daughter.

Example:

68. bibi sUkkh nal tã (Sekhon 1974:96)
bibi comfort with EP

ai e
came is
'Daughter, did you come with ease?'

5.1.8. Daughter-in-law to Mother-in-law

A daughter-in-law may address her mother-in-law with those kinship terms of address used by her husband and other family members like **mã ji, mã, mata ji, mədmmi, bebe, bibi, mədmmi ji,** etc.

69. rUtt bədəl rə́i e (Sekhon 1974:176)
season changing is

mã ji
mother HON
'Mother, (the) season is changing'.

70. mã, aṭṭa nə́i mɛttho (HS.1965:76)
mother flour not by me

əjj pí hũda
today grind can
'Mother, I can't grind this flour today'.

71. mədmmi meri gəl da gUssa nã mənno
mother my talk's anger don't accept
'Mother, don't get angry at what I am going to say'.

72. mata ji, mɛ̃ əjj der nal avãgi
mother HON I today delay with come will
'Mother, I will be late today'.

Normally, honorific forms of address are used by daughters-in-law when addressing mothers-in-law to show respect.

5.1.9. Mother-in-law to Daughter-in-law

A mother-in-law might address her daughter-in-law by her first name or nick name or by a particular term of address like **bə́u, kUṛe,** etc. In the examples given below, both **bə́u** and **kUṛe** are used in anger:

73. bəs ni bə́u! mṹ
stop hey daughter-in-law mouth
səmbalke bol
carefully talk
'Stop daughter-in-law, hold your tongue'.

74. kUṛe tũ (Sekhon 1974:75)
daughter-in-law you
Ũnji bɛtṭhi e
without sit is
'Daughter-in-law, are you sitting idle?'

The term **bə́u** is restricted to daughter-in-law but **kUṛe** is used for daughters as well. In the above example, **kUṛe** is used to express anger. The mother-in-law may also use the first name or nick name to address her daughter-in-law.

75. rəma, e mej saf kər de
Rama, this table clean do give
'Rama, please clean this table'.

76. ənu mɛnũ dəva de de
Anu, to-me medicine give give
'Anu, give me medicine'.

5.1.1.10. Father-in-law to Daughter-in-law

A father-in-law might address his daughter-in-law by her first name or nick name or by a particular kinship term like **bə́u**.

77. Ĩndər pal, tũ sərdar (KSG.1970:75)
Inder Paul, you Sardar

ram sIṅ di tì nə́i meri
Ram Singh of daughter not, my

vi te tì e
also P daughter are
'Inder Paul, you are not only the daughter of Sardar Ram Singh, but mine also'.

The father-in-law also uses the first name to address his daughter-in-law.

78. tera pùleka e, Ĩndra (KSG.1970:76)
your illusion is Indra
'Indra, it is your illusion'.

A father-in-law may also address his daughter-in-law by the kinship term **beṭi** or **bə́u**.

79. beṭi mere ləi cá bəṇa
daughter-in-law me for tea prepare

de
give
'Daughter, prepare tea for me'.

80. bə́u, mere kəpṛe lIa
bahu mine clothes bring
'Daughter-in-law, bring my clothes'.

5.1.11. Daughter-in-law to Father-in-law

A daughter-in-law uses the kinship term of address for her father-in-law which is used for him by her husband or other members of the family. She always uses honorific forms of address lie **bapu ji, pIta ji, ḍɛḍi ji.**

81. mɛ̃ kədd Ĩnkar kərni ã (KSG.1971:76)
I when refused doing am

bapu ji
father HON
'Father, did I ever refuse?'

82. pIta ji, mere ləi Ik sal lɛ
father Hon me for one shawl get

ke ana
CP bring
'Father, please bring a shawl for me'.

83. ḍɛḍi ji mɛ̃ bilkUl ṭhik hã
father HON I alright Okay am
'Father, I am alright'.

84. pàpa ji, ṫUsĩ kədõ ae
father HON you when come
'Father, when did you come?'

5.1.12. Father to Son

A father usually addresses his son by his first name, nick name, first plus middle name or with other terms in different situations. He normally uses non-honorific forms of address for his son.

Examples:

86. mɔ́n, etthe a
    Mohan, here come
    'Mohan, come here'.

87. kUkku, mɛnũ əpṇi kətab vIkha
    Kuku, to-me your book show
    'Kuku, show me your book'.

88. ašu, səkul da kəmm kər
    Ashu, school's work do
    'Ashu, do your school work'.

89. əšok kUmar, nà lɛ
    Ashok Kumar, bath take
    'Ashok Kumar, take (a) bath'.

In all the above examples, a father uses non-honorific forms of address. But sometimes a father may use honorific forms when his son is grown up and he has attained a higher social status. For example, in the presence of others if a father wants to show affection to his adult son, he uses a polite form of address.

90. mɔ́n ji, tUsĩ ɛ́ni der kItthe rə́e
    Mohan HON you so long where were
    'Mohan ji, where were you so long?'

91. mɔ́n beṭe tUàḍa ki hal hɛ
    Mohan son your what condition is
    'Mohan, how are you?'

A father may also address his son with forms like **pUttər, beṭa** 'son', etc.

92. pUttər Uṭṭh khəlo
son, get-up stand-up
'Son, get up'.

93. beṭa, dəvai lɛ lo
son, medicine take take
'Son, take your medicine'.

Sometimes a father may use a non-honorific form to show anger to his son.

94. tũ mera kɛ̀ṇa mənda é kI nə́i
you my advice act upon are or not
'Are you going to do what I say or not?'

95. tũ hUṇ mɛnũ səbək səkhaega
you now to-me lesson will teach
'Now you are going to teach me a lesson?'

But at other times, he may use an honorific form to express sarcasm.

5.1.13. Son to Father

The common modes of address that are used by a son for his father are **pIta ji, bapu ji, ḍɛḍi ji, lala ji, pàpa ji,** etc. In higher society and among educated people, a son always uses honorific forms while addressing his father.

Examples:

96. thoṛa cIr hoIa, (Sekhon 1974:94)
little time passed,

bapu ji
father HON
'Father, only a little time has passed'.

97. lala ji kÙṭṭ dIã̃ tÙanũ, sətṭ
father HON press give to-you, injury

ləgg gəi honi e
struck gone will be
'Father, shall I massage you? You must have been hurt?'

98. pIta ji, tÙanũ pəta (KSG.1971:33)
father HON to you know

nə́i ki kər bɛṭṭhe o
not what done sat have
'Father, you don't know what you have done'.

99. ḍɛḍi mɛ̃ məjbur hã (D.1973:79)
father I helpless am
'Father, I am helpless' (There is nothing else I can do)

But among the uneducated people a son generally uses non-honorific forms of address.

100. kíne marIa i tɛnũ (Sekhon 1974:57)
who beat has to-you

bapu
bapu
' Father, who has beaten you?'

101. nə́i, pàia, ó kə̀r nə́i
no father, he home not

si
was
'No, father, he was not at home'.

102. mɛ̃ dəsna əbba (KSG.1971:50)
I will tell father
'Father, I will tell you'.

The term **əbba** is used by Muslims.

5.1.14. Father-in-law/Mother-in-law to Son-in-law

A son-in-law has the same status in the family as a son has. Honorific form is used to address the son-in-law.

103. mɔ́n ji, cá lɛ ləo
Mohan HON, tea take take
'Mohan ji, please take tea'.

A father-in-law or a mother-in-law may switch over to non-honorific forms as intimacy between them develops.

104. mɔ́n, tera karobar əjj-kəl kéojə́Ia
Mohan your business these days how
cəl rIá e
go-ing is
'Mohan, how is your business getting on these days?'

105. mɔ́n tũ šɛrõ kədõ aIa
Mohan you from-city when came
'Mohan, when did you arrive from the city?'

5.1.15. Son-in-law to Father-in-law/Mother-in-law

But a father-in-law or a mother-in-law will always receive honorific forms of address from his/her son-in-law.

106. pIta ji, tUsĩ kədõ ae
father HON, you when came
'Father, when did you come?'

107. mata ji, tUàḍi tì mere
mother HON, your daughter me

nal ləṛdi hɛ
with quarrel is
'Mother, your daughter quarrels with me'.

108. bapu ji, ki mɛ̃ tUàḍi koi seva
father HON, may I your any service

kər səkda hã
do can am
'Father, can I do any thing for you?'

5.1.16. Father to Daughter

A father may address his daughter by her first name, diminutive first name, nick name or other non-honorific forms of address. In some situations a polite suffix **ji** is added to her first name: When she has acquired a higher social status, or in the presence of her colleagues, etc. This suffix can also be added to show deep affection to a daughter. A father uses polite or honorific forms for her only on rare occasions.

Examples:

109. cá vIc kərtar kUre (Sekhon 1974:40)
tea in Kartar Kaur

dÙd kUcch thoṛa i
milk rather little is
'Kartar Kaur, there is not much milk
in the tea'.

110. bəbbu, meri kəmiz de de
Babbu, my shirt give give
'Babbu, give my my shirt'.

111. bəbli, mera koṭ rəfu kər deo
Babli, my coat darn do give
'Babli, (please) darn my coat'.

A father may also use honorific forms of address after his daughter is married or in the presence of her husband or her other in-laws. A father also uses **beṭe, pUttər** (which are normally used for a son) to show affection.

112. pUttər, é tũ ki kər bɛṭhi hɛ̃
daughter, this you what done sat are
'Daughter, what have you done?'

113. beṭa, mɛnũ pÙl na jãi
beta, tome forget not me?'
'Daughter, don't forget me'.

Other terms like **bibi tì** and **kUṛie** are also used.

114. bəs, ro na, meri (HS.1965:24)
stop, weep don't, my
bibi tì
daughter
'Daughter, please don't weep'.

115. ki gəl e, kUṛie, kIõ (D.1974:71)
what matter is, girl, why

ro rə́i e, kUšəlIa
weep-ing are, Kushalya
'Kushalya, what is the matter, why are you weeping?'

5.1.17. Daughter to Father

A daughter generally uses honorific forms of address for her father. As we have pointed out above, among illiterate people non-honorific forms are also used.

Examples:

116. koi na pher (Sekhon 1974:40)
anything not then

bapu tũ tã pUkhe thIai nə́i
father you PART. hungry found not

moṛda kIse nũ
turn back any-body to
'Doesn't matter, you do not let anybody to go without eating something'

117. paIa, mã ne kəde (HS.1965:20)
father, mother ERG never

mɛnũ hətth ni laIa
to-me hand not lay-on
'Father, mother never touched me'.

A daughter and a son use the same honorific forms in addressing their father.

Examples:

118. paIa ji, mɛ̃ tUàḍa pàr (HS.1965:20)
father HON, I your burden

hola kər cəli hã
lighten do going am
'Father, I am going to lighten your burden'.

119. hor mɛnũ kUcch (KSG.1970:75)
more tome something

cə́ida vi nə́i papa ji
want also not father HON
'Father, I don't want anything'.

120. bapu ji, sət səri (Sekhon 1974:96)
father HON, sat sari

əkal
akal
'Father, Sat Sri Akal'.

121. ḍɛḍi ji, hŨṇ tUə̀ḍi kəṛi vIc ki
day HON now your watch in what

ṭɛm hɛ
time is
'Father, what time do you have?'

122. bapu ji, tUsĩ, bəṛi der bad ae
bapu HON, you very late after came
'Father, you have come after a long time'.

123. pIta ji, hŨṇ mera phIkər na kəro
father HON, now my worry don't do
'Father, don't worry about me'.

124. pher, ḍɛḍi pher ki (D.1973:20)
then dady then what

hovega
will-happen
'Father, then what will happen?'

125. klõ, əbba ji (D.1973:106)
why, father HON
'Why, father?'

5.1.18. Husband to Wife

Normally no formal forms of address are used by a husband to address his wife. Formal forms of address may however, be used in the presence of others or in certain formal situations. A husband addresses his wife by her first name, nick name or with other terms like **širimǝti, darlIṅ, pàgvane, sUkhdev di mā́**, etc., depending on their social status and the context of the situation.

Examples:

126. šila ji vədài (KSG.1971:23)
Shila HON, congratulation

dIo
give
'Shila ji, congratulate me'.

127. Ĩndu! meriã əkkhã vIcc (KSG.1970:95)
Indu! my eyes in

vekh
look
'Indu, look into my eyes'.

A husband may use polite form of address in the presence of others.

128. bɛṭṭho ləlIta ji (Sekhon 1974:156)
sit down Lalita HON
'Lalita ji, be seated'.

Persons who belong to the older generation, avoid using direct modes of address with their spouses. Here a husband addresses his wife by referring to his son.

129. ki gəl ɛ, (Sekhon 1974:94)
what matter is,

sUkhdev di mā̃
Sukhdev's mother
'Sukhdev's mother, what is the matter?'

130. mɛ̃ kÍa pali di mā̃ (D.1973:507)
I said Pali's mother
'Pali's mother, I am saying'.

Terms like **ḍIər** or **ḍarlIṅ** are common among educated people.

131. kəho ḍIər
say dear
'Dear, say'.

132. darlIṅ mɛ̃ ṭhik kÍa si (GSK.1950:77)
darling, I right say was
'Darling, what I said was right'.

Other terms like **širiməti ji,** and **pàgvane** are also used in formal situation.

133. širiməti ji, paṇi (KSG.1971:127)
shrimati HON, water
'Shrimati ji, water!'

134. pàgvane meri gəl tā̃ sUṇ
address-form my talk P listen
'Pagvane (the term used for wife), listen to me'.

5.1.19. Wife to Husband

A wife may use honorific forms of address while addressing her husband in the presence of others or in formal situations. She may use professional terms with honorific suffixes like **ḍakṭər sáb, vəkil sáb,** etc.

In earlier generations both husband and wife avoided using any direct mode of address in their conversation as in the following examples:

135. nIrməla de pàia, dekh (HS.1965:20)
Nirmala's father, see

lɛ kUṛi de hal
take daughter's condition
'Nirmala's father, see your daughter's condition'.

136. bolde ni, tUsĩ bəzar kədõ jao ge
talk don't, you bazar when go will
'You are not saying, when you will go to bazar?'

A wife may address her husband with other terms also as in the examples given below:

137. ɛdã na kə́o pətidev (KSG.1971:35)
like don't say husband
this
'Patidev (husband), don't speak like this'.

138. širiman ji, é kə̀r (Sekhon 1974:1)
Mr. HON, this house

hɛ, pUstkala nə́i
is, library not
'Mr., this is home, not a library'.

139. babu ji, ɛnũ kÚjj (Sekhon 1974:153)
Babu HON, to it some

kabu cə rəkkho
control in have
'Babu ji (husband), you must have some control over it'.

A wife may also address her husband by his first name.

140. sUkhdev ji, kər (Sekhon 1974:153)
Sukhdev HON, done

cUke Išnan
have bath
'Sukhdev ji, have you taken your bath?'

In modern society, terms like ḍIər, ḍarlIṅ are also used.

141. jón ḍIar, tUsĩ ki (GSK.1950:72)
John dear, you what

gəllã kər rə́e ho
talk do-ing are
'John dear, what are you saying?'

142. darlIṅ darlIṅ (GSK.1950:63)
darling darling
'Darling, Darling'.

The analysis of addressing terms shows that familial relational terms used for first order relations are not only restricted to

family relations, but are also used for other social as well as professional relations. It has also been observed that a number of new Anglicized terms of address like **ənkəl ãṭi, ḍɛḍi, məmi,** etc., are frequently used in place of traditional terms mostly in urban areas. The people in rural areas tend to maintain the use of traditional native terms.

5.2. Social Dyadic Relations

A person in his social life comes in contact with other persons and plays different roles in a given society. These contacts can be of different types: contacts among neighbours, friends, land-lord-tenants, master-servant in a given society. Certain socio-economic, socio-cultural and religious patterns also bring individuals and families close together. As a result, diverse interpersonal relations of individuals develop among the members of a society. Some of the interpersonal relations are developed by a contact between a servant and a master, between a land-lord and a tenant and also between friends, strangers etc. The use of modes of address and pronouns of address depends on different factors in the interpersonal relationship. In this

section, some of the main dyadic relations have been discussed.

5.2.1. Student to Teacher

Different modes of address and pronouns are used between teachers and students depending on various factors. It mainly depends on the relationship between students and teachers, sex, age, socio-economical and educational background of the teachers as well as students level of education (primary, middle, college, university, etc.). The use of modes of address varies at different educational levels. Firstly, a distinction is to be made between male and female teachers. A male or female student uses different modes of address for male and female teachers at school level (i.e., primary to high). Examples of such type of modes of address are given below:

Teachers	
Female	Male
ãnṭi	masṭər sáb
mɛḍəm	masṭər ji
pɛ̀ṇji	sər
mɛ̀ḍəm ji	sər ji
ãnṭi ji	
mIs	

ã̃nṭi (originally English 'aunt') is a borrowed kinship term, but it is used as a mode of address for showing respect for elder women. **ã̃nṭi** may also be followed by honorific suffix **ji** as well, i.e., **ã̃nṭi ji**. Similarly **pɛ̀ṇ** is a kinship term used for sister. **pɛ̀ṇ ji** is an honorific mode of address for sister. It is also used for addressing a female teacher. **mɛḍəm** (Madam) is a borrowed term of address and **ji** may also be added to it, i.e., **mɛḍəm ji**. This is an honorific term of address used for educated and respectable women in general. **mIs** (Miss) and **sIsṭər** (Sister) are also borrowed modes of address generally used in English medium convent schools for teachers and nuns. **masṭər** is a term for teacher borrowed from English. **sáb** or **ji** honorific suffixes are added to it for changing it into modes of address. Similarly, **sər** (Sir) or **sər ji** (Sir ji) are used for addressing male teachers. These forms of address may be explained through various examples.

Examples for addressing female teachers are given below:

143. ã̃nṭi, mɛ̃ paṇi piṇ
aunt, I water to-drink

jãvã
go
'Aunt, may I go to drink water?'

144. mɛḍ∂m, pɛ́lã meri kappi cɛk kər deo
madam first my copy check do give
'Madam, please check my notebook first'.

145. pɛ̀ṇ ji mɛnũ maf k∂r deo
sister to-me forgive do give
'Sister, please forgive me'.

146. mɛḍ∂m ji, Is vak da ki
madam HON this sentence of what

m∂tl∂b ɦɛ
meaning is
'Madam, what is meant by this sentence?'

147. ãṇṭi ji, hUṇ mɛ̃ ja s∂kda hã
aunt HON, now I go can am
'Aunt (teacher), may I go now?'

148. mIs, mɛ̃ apṇi kapi ∂jj k∂̀r
Miss I my notebook to-day home

pÙll aIa
forgot came
'Miss, I have forgotten my notebook
at home to-day'.

Following are the examples of the modes of address used for male teachers:

149. masṭ∂r ji, mɛnũ Ik dIn di chUṭṭi
master HON, to-me one day of leave

de deo
give give
'Masterji, please give me leave for
one day'.

150. mastər sáb, hUṇ tUàḍa ki hal hɛ
master HON, now your how condition is
'Master Sahib (teacher), how are you now?'

151. sər, mɛ̃ é kəmm ni kItta
sir, I this work not done
'Sir, I have not done this work'.

Besides using modes of address, honorific pronouns like **tUsĩ, tUàḍa, tUanũ,** etc., are also used by students. Honorific pronouns are same both for male and female teachers. Pronouns and modes of address are also used together in a sentence.

152. mastər ji, tUàḍa kə̀r kItthe hɛ
master HON, your house where is
'Master ji, where is your house?'

153. mɛḍəm ji, tUsĩ, jéṛa kəmm dItta
Madam HON, you which work given
si mɛ̃ ni kItta
was I not done
'Madam, I could'not do the work, which you had given to me'.

154. mɛḍəm ji, kəl mɛ̃ tUànũ əpni
madam HON, yesterday I you my
fis dItti si
fee given was
'Madam, I had paid my fee to you yesterday'.

The use of modes of address and pronouns varies at different educational levels. Notice

that the **sər ji**, is mainly used for male teachers and **mɛḍəm ji** for female teachers at the primary level. At the middle and high school levels, students mostly address their teachers by the terms like **sər, mɛḍəm, ə̃nṭi, mIs**, etc. Terms like **sər ji** and **mɛḍəm ji** are very rarely used.

At the level of college and university education, students use terms like **sər** and **mɛḍəm** for male and female teachers respectively. Surnames are used with honorific titles like Prof. Gupta, Mr. Gill, Mrs. Bhatia, Dr. Puar, Joshi sahib, Joshi Sir, etc.

It is observed that first name is added with the terms of address, like **Usha Madam**. But the term like **Usha Madam** is used to identify particular person in a particular context. For example, if teachers are in a group and a student has to convey a message to a parti-cular teacher then he/she may use 'madam'/'sir' with the first name or surname of the teacher for specific identification.

A distinction is also made by high school or primary school students according to teacher's status in the school. For senior teachers they may use **bəḍḍi mɛḍəm** (elder or

senior madam) or **bə̣ḍḍe sər** (elder or senior sir) and for junior teachers **choṭi mɛḍəm** (younger or junior) or **choṭe sər** (younger or junior). Such distinction is also made in a case when there are two teachers in a school of a particular subject or class. In these examples **bəḍḍi** (fem.)/**bəḍḍe** (mas.) and **choṭṭi** (fem.)/**choṭṭe** (mas.) indicate elder or senior and younger or junior respectively.

5.2.2. Teacher to Student

A teacher may address a student in the class by his/her first name, but outside class or school, he/she may address him/her by his/her nick name as well. If there is private tuition at home, in that case, a teacher mainly addresses him or her by nick name. Examples are given below:

155. mɔ́n, rɔḷa na pa
Mohan, noise don't put
'Mohan, don't make a noise'.

156. ram, tũ apṇi kapi lIa
Ram, you your copy bring
'Ram, bring your copy'.

157. ə̃nju, khəṛi ho
Anju, stand up
'Anju, stand up'.

158. oe dipIa sәval kәḍḍ (KSG.1970:101)
Hey! Dipa question solved

lIa e
take have
'Hey Dipia! Have you solved this question'.

159. hã̃ bәi bә̃nṭu, sUṇa (KSG.1970:105)
yes hay Bantu, tell

Uṭṭh ke kàṇi
get P story
'Yes Bantu! Get up and tell a story'.

160. mUnna tũ é kәmm kIõ nә́i khәtәm
Munna you this work why not finish

kItta
did

'Munna, why didn't you finish this work?'

161. bәblu, mɛnũ әpṇi kәtab vIkha
Bablu, to-me your book show
'Bablu, show me your book'.

162. mUnni, tera kә̀r kItthe hɛ
Munni, your house where is
'Munni, where is your house?'

Like modes of address, non-honorific pronouns are also used by the teachers.

Examples:

163. tũ bɛṭh ja
you sit (down (go)
'You sit down'.

164. tũ apṇi kapi lIa
you your copy bring
'Bring your copy'.

165. rɔḷa na pa
noise, don't put
'Don't make a noise'.

In imperative sentence, second person pronouns are not used at the surface level. They are however understood in the use of the form of the verb in a sentence, e.g., in the sentence **rɔḷa na pa** non-honorific pronoun **tũ** is recovered through **pa**.

A teacher may also use polite terms or pronouns of address for his/her student in a situation when he wants to show more affection to student or if a student is grown up and belongs to a higher family or in formal situations.

166. tUsĩ mɛnũ əpṇa kəmm vIkhao
you, to-me your work show
'(Please) show me your work'.

167. tUàḍe pIta ji da ki nã hɛ
your father HON of what name is
'What is your father's name?'

Honorific forms may be used by the teacher while making sarcastic remarks:

168. tUsĩ mere tõ və́dd
you me than better

jaṇde ho
know are
'You know better than me'.

In anger, the teacher normally uses non-honorific forms only.

Examples:

169. tũ kəl səkul kyõ ni aIa
you yesterday school why not came
'Why didn't you come to school yesterday'.

170. tũ bɛ̃nc de Utte khəlo ja
you bench of on stand go
'Stand up on the bench'.

Mild abuses are generally used by male teachers for male students in anger. Like **gədá (khotta), Ullu, cə̀lla, suro**, etc. Such derogatory modes of address are mostly used in rural schools by teachers who are unsophisticated. The use of such terms are less frequent or rarely used in urban schools. The use of such terms reflect the teacher's socio-cultural and educational background. A number of examples of such type of modes of address may be seen in a number of texts. Examples are given from the texts:

171. oe mŨndIo cUpp kər (KSG.1970:98)
hey boys be quiet

jao suro
go pigs
'O boys - pigs, keep quiet'.

172. tUàḍe sarlã de dəmag (KSG.1970:107)
your all of brains

nũ sIuk ləgg gəi hoi e khoteo
to bookworm stuck went happen is donkeys
'O donkeys, the brains of all of you
have been eaten up by insects'.

173. oe sɔ́ri dIa, mɛ̃ dəssã (KSG.1970:106)
hey pigs of I tell

te tã sUnave ga
EP then narrate will
'O son of pig, I will say (first) then
you will narrate'.

174. oe əgge bəkk ṭiḍIa, (KSG.1970:106)
hey ahead say an insect

bərekã ləgg gəiã tɛnũ
brakes struck gone to you
'O insect, carry on, why have you
stopped'.

175. oe tɛnũ thoṛa akhIa (KSG.1970:103)
hey to you any say

si, allu bUkharIa
was plum
'O plum, I had not asked you'.

176. oe panã dIo golIo, (KSG.1970:101)
hey heart of slave,

səval kIse nũ vi nə́i aũda
question no one to also not knowing
'O leaf of a playing cards, no one
knows the answer (to this question)'.

177. oe bIll bətorIa tɛnũ (KSG.1970:106)
hey talkative to you

aho əgā́ ho mər
saying ahead die
'O talkative, I am saying you to go 'ahead'.

178. oe tũ dəs kəməl de (D.1973:44)
hey you tell Kamal of

bəcce, tũ ki jəvab kəḍe e
child you what answer taken is
'O Kamal's child (i.e., Kamal) what is the answer you have found?'

5.2.3. Master to Servant

In general, non-honorific forms of address are used by a master to address his/her servant but a master always receives honorific forms of address in return. Honorific forms of address are very rarely used by the master in some formal situations for showing affection or intimacy.

Servants can be classified into different categories such as (a) Domestic servants, (2) Agricultural servants or labourers and (3) Attendants, drivers, etc.

Domestic servants may also be of different types, such as (a) sweeper, (b) **mai** (one who cleans utensils), (c) **mali** (gardener), (d) **aya** (one who looks after children and cooks meals,

etc.). Each and every servant has his/her own social status in the society. For example, a sweeper's status is lower than the status of a servant who cleans utensils.

It is not necessary that all servants blong to low caste. Sometimes, persons of high caste are compelled to do work of lower status due to their poverty. For example, a Brahman woman has a high status in society, but if she has no source of income, poverty forces her to do any lower standard work. Therefore, caste is not taken into account when we talk about the status of persons who are engaged in work considered to be of lower status. Further, a distinction is made between three servants **mali** (gardener), **aya** (nurse) and **rəsoia** (cook), whether they are skilled or not. Normally some skilled workers have higher status than the unskilled workers, and they command some respect in society. The financial benefit or returns do not determine whether the work is skilled or unskilled one.

The status is also determined by the conditions and situation of work. For example, if a servant is working in a rich family house,

he commands more respect than the one working in a middle class family house.

Thus, servants are categorised according to their status, skill and also the condition of their work.

Generally, terms used by servants for their masters are more or less of same type. There are only some negligible differences, if any. Non-honorific modes of address used by masters for their servants are also not very different. These modes of addresses vary according to age and sex of the participants. Thus addressing procedures from both side, i.e., master to servant and servant to master are different. In domestic category, we start from lower status servant to upper status servant.

5.2.3.1. Sweepers

In general, sweepers belong to a lower caste. Their status is considered to be low because of their profession. Sweepers are now addressed by their first name, diminutive first name or nick name. There was a time, when a sweeper was never addressed by his/her first name or nick name, but by the professional terms like **jəmadar/jəmadarni**

in Punjabi, and **bhəngi** or **mehtrani** in Hindi. Now these terms are very rarely used.

179. jəmadarni, pɛse kəl nũ lɛ jãvi
jamadarni, money tomorrow to take gone
'Jamadarni, take money tomorrow'.

180. əmro, pipe da kuṛa bár sUṭṭ de
Amro, dustbin of garbage out throw
'Amro, throw out the garbage from dustbin'.

In an example from the text, a master uses an abuse **sala** (wife's brother) in anger.

181. oe sale rəmalu de, (HS.1965:104)
hey **sale** Ramalu of,

əjj tũ bathrum saf nə́i kitta
today you bathroom clean not did
'O **sale** Ramalu, why didn't you clean bathroom today?'

In this example, an abuse **sala** (literally 'wife's brother') is used for the addressee.

182. chəḍḍ jəmadar cə̀gṛa (HS.1965:104)
stop jamadar dispute
'Jamadar, stop this dispute'.

183. jəmadar sáb nIbeṛo (HS.1965:104)
jamadar HON hush up

cə̀gṛa
dispute
'Jamadar Sahib, please clear this dispute'.

In the above example, a term of solidarity

is used for the head sweeper. Here a polite suffix sáb is added with the professional title.

184. ja pài, é te (HS.1965:104)
go brother this EP
kəmla e, kÙṭ piti hoi su
stupid is, sip drank happen is
'Go brother, he is stupid and is drunk'.

Sometimes, modes of address and pronouns are together used in a sentence.

Example:

185. šəkUntla, tũ kəl kyõ nə́i ai
Shakuntla, you yesterday why not come
'Shakuntla, why didn't you come yesterday?'

5.2.3.2. Mai (One who cleans utensils)

Servants of this category are addressed by their first name or nick names. If a women servant engaged in this work is old in age, she is addressed as **mai ji** or **mai**. The term **mai ji** is used in a context when master shows respect for her. The term **mai** is also used for a lady peon working in a school/college. This term is also used for an old female beggar. The term **mai** is also used as a term for mother by some people.

The term **mai** is fairly common among domestic

servants. If the female servant is young, she will be addressed by her first name or nick name instead of **mai**.

It is observed that sometimes kinship terms of address like **massi** (mother's sister) is used for her for showing intimacy and affection.

Examples:

186. mai, pέlã kəpp pleṭã saf kər de
mai, first cup plates clean do give
'Mai, clean cups and plates first'.

187. kəmmo, pà̃ḍe vIm de nal saf kər
Kammo utensils vim of with clean do
'Kammo, clean utensils with vim'.

188. mai ji, pà̃ḍe šam nũ saf
mai HON utensils evening in clean
kər dena
do give
'Mai ji, clean autensils in the evening'.

Like non-honorific modes of address non-honorific pronouns are also used.

189. massi, tũ kəl pã̃ḍe mãjən
Massi, you tomorrow utensils scrubb
na ãvi
don't come
'**Massi**, don't come to clean utensils tomorrow'.

190. tũ əjj bɔ́t der nal
you to-day very late with

ai
came
'You came very late today'.

191. kəl nũ der nal na ãvi
tomorrow to late with don't come
'Don't come late tomorrow'.

An honorific suffix **ji** is also added to **mai**.

Example:

192. mai ji, tUsĩ meri gəl tã sUno
mai Hon, you my talk EP listen
'Mai ji, listen to me'.

5.2.3.3. Mali (Gardener)

In general, non-honorific terms like **mali** are used for male servant and **malən** for female servants. A **mali** may also be addressed by the term **pə̀i** as well.

193. mali, é phUll toṛ de
gardener, this flower pluck give
'Gardener, pluck this flower'.

194. pə̀i, é bij bo de
brother, this seed sow give
'Brother, sow this seed'.

The non-honorific pronouns are also used.

195. tũ kəl pòdIã nu paṇi
you yesterday plants to water

klõ nə́i dItta
why not give
'Why didn't you water the plants
yesterday?'

5.2.3.4. Aya

The women that looks after child/children is normally addressed by the professional non-honorific term of address **aya** itself. She may however be addressed by her first name also in case if she is young.

Examples:

196. aya, mUnne nũ bag vIc lɛ a
Aya munne to garden in take come
'Aya, take Munna to the garden'.

197. munni, rĨku de jUtte pa de
Munni, Rinku of shoes put on
'Munni, help Rinku to put on his shoes'.

198. aya-aya mɛ̃ kə̀r jaṇa e (KSD.1954:46)
Aya-Aya I home to go have
'Aya-Aya, I have to go home'.

199. te tɛnũ ki e aya (KSD.1954:66)
then to you what is aya
'Aya, then what to you?'

5.2.3.5. Rəsoia (Cook)

Cooks are mostly males. They are addressed by their first name, full name or nick name.

200. mɔ́ṇ, coḷ na bənaĩ
Mohan, rice don't cook
'Mohan, don't cook rice'.

201. mɔ́n lal khana tIar hɛ
Mohan Lal food ready is
'Mohan Lal, is the food ready?'

202. ram dUlare, roṭi mẽ (Sekhon 1974:133)
Ram Dulare, meals in

kya der hɛ
how much time is
'Ram Dulare, how long the preparation of meals will take?'

If a servant is quite old he is addressed as **baba ji, lala ji**, etc. The use of pronominal forms depend on the factors of age and status.

5.2.3.6. Other Servants

This category of servants may include general household servants, agricultural servants, office attendants, personal chauffeurs. A household servant may assist his/her master in all the household work, i.e., cleaning, washing, cooking, looking after the children, etc.

Some servants are employed for agriculture work only. Sometimes, instead of money, fixed amount of grains are given to them as a remuneration for their work. Mostly, young, uneducated and landless peasants are engaged in agriculture work. They are generally addressed by their first names or nick names

and with non-honorific pronominal forms of address.

A master employs attendants for his private office as well as household work. They are mostly literate or technical hands because they have to do work of office or private business.

Status of the personal chauffeur is higher than other servants. Mostly chauffeurs are literate. They get more salary than other servants. Their status is higher according to their professional skill, and the conditions of work.

In general, first names, full names, nick names and non-honorific pronouns of address are used for them. In some cases for showing affection and intimacy, polite forms of address like the use of ji, etc., with the names including kinship terms of address like **beṭa, baba, caca** are used for them. In certain formal situations, honorific terms of address are also used.

5.2.4. Servant to Master

A master always addressed by honorific forms of address. Generally, these forms

like **sáb ji, sáb bádur, həzur** are also used. Notice the following examples:

203. sáb ji, səlam (GSK.1950:60)
sahaib HON salam
'Sahib, Salam'.

In this example, a **mIstəri** (mechanic) addresses the master:

204. nə́i həzur mera é (GSK.1950:62)
no sir my this
mətləb tã nə́i
meaning EP not
'No Sir, this is not what I mean to say'.

205. sáb bádUr mɛ̃ ki (GSK.1950:62)
sahib brave I what
gəlti kiti e
wrong done
'Sahib, what wrong I have done?'

206. ɔrət jat e sáb (KSD.1954:66)
woman caste is sir
'Sir, this is what women are'.

207. saḍi bəcci kItni pIari (KSD.1978:39)
our daughter how sweet
hɛ sáb
is sahib
'How sweet our daughter is!'

208. bau ji, koi admi (Sekhon 1974:155)
Bau HON, any man
ne bár
is outside

'Bau ji, there is a man outside'.

Similarly, a female master may also be addressed by honorific forms of address, which include **bibi, mem sáb, bibi ji, malkIn,** etc.

209. bibi ji, mɛnũ tã koi (HS.1965:93)
bibi HON, tome EP any

nə́i pəta relu, nũ pàvẽ dəss
not know Relu, to pehaps said

gəe honge
went will have
'Bibi ji, I don't know, perhaps he might have told to Relu'.

210. nə́i mem sáb (GSK.1950:87)
not Mem Sahib
'No Mem Sahib'.

211. mem sáb cae tIar hɛ (BG.1970:121)
Mem HON tea ready is
'Mem Sahib, tea is ready'.

212. vekho te sə́i bibi (KSD.1954:64)
see EP P bibi
'See, Bibi'.

213. ji malkIn (D.1973:297)
yes mistress
'Yes, mistress'.

To address the master's daughter, non-honorific addressing form is used:

214. choṭi malkIn tũ (D.1973:35)
younger mistress you

pərešan ləgni
sad looking-are
'Younger Mistress, you are looking sad'.

In the absence of master a servant may refer his/her master by name + addressing form like **hUsna + bibi, prem + babu**. Examples are given below:

215. hUsna bibi te prem (KSD.1954:130)
Husna bibi and Prem

babu Ikko ṭɛksi vIc bɛṭh ke
babu one taxi in sitting P

cəle gəe ne
gone have (Aux.V.)
'Husna bibi and Prem babu have gone in the same taxi'.

5.2.5. Friend to Friend

Two male or female friends, usually address each other either by their first names or by the nick names. Two male friends occasionally address each other by the term **yar** 'friend' as well. Examples are given below:

216. hɛlo mIsṭər jəgdiš, (NS.1944:22)
Hello Mister Jagdish,

yar əje tək tũ Itthe i e
friend still upto you here EP are
'Hello Mr. Jagadish, are you still here?'

217. o bəldev mera fIucər (NS.1944:23)
hey! Baldev my future

bəṛa šandar e
very bright is
'O Baldev, my future is very bright'.

218. nã aša, mɛ̃ nə́i jaṇa (D.1973:233)
no Asha, I don't to go
'No Asha, I don't want to go'.

219. rup fəzul gəllã na (D.1973:233)
Rup useless talk don't

kər, mɛ̃ ro pəvãgi
do I cry will
'Roop, don't talk useless things,
I will cry'.

5.2.6. Neighbours

Neighbours may be addressed by first names, full names, surnames, nick names and also by kinship terms of address. It mostly depends on the age, social status and interpersonal relationships, etc. In rural areas among neighbours, kinship terms of address like **caca (ji), taIa (ji), tai, caci** and also kinship term + name like **caca bəsənt siṅ** or **caci kesro**, etc., are frequent in use, but among urban areas they are not frequently used. In urban areas terms like, **prá ji, pàbi ji, ə̃kəl ji** or **ãnṭi ji** are used, in the same age group. The terms like **mata ji/ baba ji** are used for elders.

220. ãnṭi ji, tUsĩ kədõ bəjar jao ge
aunt HON, you when bazar go will
'Aunt, when will you go to bazar?'

221. ãkəl ji, tUsĩ dəftər ja rə́e ho
uncle HON, you office go-ing are
'Uncle, are you going to office?'

222. mata ji, mɛnũ əpṇa cakku de deo
mata HON, to me your knife give
'Mata ji, give me your knife'.

5.2.7. Strangers

The modes of address used among friends and among strangers vary according to age, sex, status and context. Two intimate friends at equal level always use non-honorific modes of address, but they switch to honorific forms of address in certain formal situations. Strangers of higher status personally unknown to each other, always use formal or honorific modes of address. Strangers may also use non-honorific forms of address when addressee is younger in age or he/she belongs to lower social status but the addresser will get honorific forms of address in return. Sometimes, non-honorific forms of address are also used by the strangers when they are illiterate. Examples are given below:

223. prá ji, əsã kĩgəsve (GSK.1950:28)
brother HON, we Kingsway
kɛ̃p jaṇa e
camp to go
'Brother, we have to go to Kingsway Camp'.

224. lala ji apṇi zəban (GSK.1950:26)
Lala HON, own tongue

kabu vIc rəkkho
control in keep
'Lala ji, hold your tongue'.

225. te pài, tũ Ĩj (GSK.1950:31)
o brother you this

kɛ̀ khã
manner say
'O brother, you must say like this'.

226. lɛ prá, tũ mɛnũ (GSK.1950:32)
O brother, you to me

pɛ́lõ is tərã səməjá
earlier this way to make understand

dẽda
give
'Brother, why didn't you tell me earlier like this?'

A male stranger may address a female stranger by a kinship term of address like **pɛ̀ṇ ji, pɛ̀ṇ, bibi,** etc., or by **kUṛie, biba,** etc. Similarly, a female may address a male stranger by **prá ji, vir ji, pài sáb, pà ji, caca ji, taIa ji, baba ji,** etc.

Examples:

227. pɛ̀ṇ ji, bəs te cə́ṛn (GSK.1950:32)
sister HON bus on boarding

vale sə́b apo apṇi kətar vIcc khəlo
to be all own queue in stand

jā̃de ne
go are
'Sister, all those who want to get
into the bus, stand in queue'.

228. bibi ap meri jə́ga pe (GSK.1950:32)
Bibi you my place on

a jao
come
'Bibi, please take my seat'.

If a stranger is a Muslim or Sikh, he may be addressed by an addressee as **mɔlana, sərdar ji**, etc.

229. mɔlana, mɔlana jago, (GSK.1950:33)
Maulana, Maulana get up,

bəs auṇ vali e
bus come about to is
'Maulana, Maulana, get up, bus is
about to come'.

230. sərdar ji, tUàḍa ki nã hɛ
Sardar HON your what name is
'Sardar ji, what is your name?'

A female stranger who appears to be educated and of high status is addressed by the term **mɛḍəm,** and similarly, a male stranger of the same category is addressed by **mIsṭər** or **sə́b,** etc.

231. mera khIal hɛ mɛḍəm (Sethi 1969:33)
my idea is madam

tUàḍa pəti sə́b kUcch
your husband every thing

jaṇda si
knew was
'I think that your husband knew
every thing'.

Two female strangers address each other by both honorific and non-honorific forms of address. If they are educated and of higher status they use honoific forms of address otherwise non-honorific forms of address are frequently used.

232. na pɛ̀ṇ əjIhi gəll (GSK.1950:44)
no sister this type matter
múõ na kə́ḍ
from mouth
'No sister, don't say like this'.

233. bibi tũ bal mɛnũ (GSK.1950:43)
Bibi you child to me
phəṛa de
handover
'Bibi give your child to me'.

234. pɛ̀ṇ ji, é rəsta kIdə́r nũ
sister HON, this road where to
jãda hɛ
go is
'Sister, where does this road lead to?'

5.2.8. Landlord to Peasants

A landlord, having higher social status in society, is addressed by peasants by using honorific forms of address, but the peasants

will receive non-honorific modes of address in return.

Examples:

235. khet vIc bij bo de
field in seed sow
'Sow seed in the field'.

236. podIã nũ paṇi de de
plants to water give
'Water the plants'.

5.2.9. Peasants to Landlord

237. həzur mɛnũ tənkha de deo
sir to-me salary give
'Sir, (please) pay me my salary'.

238. sərkar mere te rɛ́m kəro
sarkar to-me pity do
'Sarkar, (please) have pity on me'.

5.2.10. Landlord to Tenant

A landlord and a tenant generally make reciprocal use of honorific modes of address and pronominal forms for each other.

Examples:

239. bapu ji, mɛnũ kəraya cə́ida hɛ
Bapu ji, to-me rent want is
'Bapu ji, please give me the (amount of) rent'.

240. hã dakṭər sáb é mera (BG.1970:73)
yes doctor HON this my

ə̣ṭhvã phera e
eighth round is
'Yes, Doctor sahib, I have come eighth time'.

241. sərdar ji, kəraya mɛnũ peš̌gi deo
Sardar HON rent to-me advance give
'Sardar ji, please pay me rent in advance'.

5.2.11. Tenant to Landlord

A tenant addresses his landlord by his surname + sáb.

242. bəs dIvan sáb, tUsĩ (BG.1970:75)
more Diwan Sahib, you
do Ik dIn di mɔ́lət dIo
two one day of permission give
'Diwan Sahaib, give me permission for about two days more'.

In some situation, when the tenant is of a lower status than the landlord, a landlord uses non-honorific forms of address as well.

243. tũ kəraya kyõ ni dĩda
you (NH) rent why not give
'Why don't you pay the rent?'

244. mɛ̃ tera səman bár phɛ̃k dIãga
I your(NH) belongings out throw will
'I will throw your belongings outside the house'.

In the above examples, non-honorific forms of address are used in anger.

5.2.12. Acquaintances

The use of forms of address among acquaintances depend on different types of relations and age, sex and situations, etc. Acquaintances can be of various kinds. Forms of address like **pɛ̀ṇ ji, pài sáb, ə̃nkəl, ãnṭi, baba, bibi ji,** etc., are very commonly used. Among the younger age groups, or of equal age group or status, first names, full names, surnames with suffixes are also used. Examples are given below:

245. ə̃nkəl ji, tUsĩ saḍḍe kər aṇa
uncle HON, you our home come
'Uncle, come to our home'.

246. ãnṭi ji, tUàḍi kə̀ṛi vIc ki ṭɛm hɛ
aunt HON, your watch in what time is
'Aunt, what time is it by your watch'.

247. pɛ̀ṇ ji, pài sáb da ki
sister HON, brother HON of what

hal hɛ
condition is
'Sister, how is (my) brother?'

248. kaka, a ja bɛ ja
kaka come go be seated
'Kaka, come in, be seated'.

249. mUnni, teri məmmi ki kər rə́i hɛ
Munni, your mother what do-ing is
'Munni, what is your mother doing?'

250. prá ji, tUsĩ kIvẽ ae
brother HON, you how came
'Brother, how did you come?'

251. gUpta sáb cǝlo kafi haus cǝlie
Gupta HON let us Coffee House go to
'Mr. Gupta, let us go to Coffee House'.

In rural areas mostly the terms like **taya/tai, caca/caci, prá/pẽṇ** are used.

252. tai ji, tUsĩ kItthõ a rǝ́e ho
aunt HON, you where come-ing are
'Aunt, where are you coming from?'

253. caci ji, tUsĩ kǝdõ ae
aunt HON you when come
'Aunt, when did you come?'

254. taIa ji, cá pi lǝo
Uncle HON, tea drink take
'Uncle, please take tea'.

A person plays different roles in a given society, and comes in contact with other people in different social situations. The main roles being that of a friend, neighbour, master, servant, stranger, landlord, tenant, etc. As seen above, the modes of address are determined by different types of inter-personal relationship between the persons who come in contact in society.

5.3. Professional Dyadic Relations

The professional relations are developed

in a context, when two persons come in contact in their professional practice. For example, a doctor comes in contact with a patient, a shopkeeper with a customer, a lawyer with a client, and an official with a non-official, etc. Normally the participants address each other by their full names, surnames, surnames plus honorific suffixes, professional titles plus honorific suffixes, etc.

5.3.1. Official to Official

It is observed that persons having an equa rank or status in the profession address each other by full names or surnames plus honorific suffixes, i.e., **ji** or **sáb**. Examples are given below:

255. sɔ́ṇ lal ji, kĨve ana hoIa
Sohan Lal HON, how come did
'Mr. Sohan Lal, how did you come?'

256. gUpta ji, mɛ̃ cùṭ nə́i bol rIa
Gupta HON, I lie not tell-ing
'Mr. Gupta, I am not telling a lie'.

257. gUpta sáb, tUsĩ dIlli tõ kədõ
Gupta HON, you Delhi from when
vapəs ae
back came
'Mr. Gupta, when did you come back from Delhi?'

In certain cases, instead of adding **ji**

or **sáb** to either names or surnames of addressee, English honorific address forms like **mIsṭər** (Mister), **mIsIz** (Mrs.), **mIs** (Miss), **mɛḍəm** (Madam) are used along with the full names and/or surnames.

258. mIsṭər vərma, é ki e (D.1973:133)
Mr. Varma, this what is
'Mr. Varma, what is this?'

259. mIs copṛa, énã kolõ (D.1973:74)
Miss Chopra, him from
duja farm pərva ləo
second form fill up-CAUS take
'Miss Chopra, ask him to fill in the second form'.

260. mIsṭər mɔ́n lal, ki tUàḍa kəmm
Mister Mohan Lal have your work
khətəm ho gIa hɛ
completed happened is
'Mr. Mohan Lal, have you completed your work?'

261. mIsṭər gUpta, meri fəIl kItthe hɛ
Mr. Gupta, my file where is
'Mr. Gupta, where is my file?'

262. həzur kagəj te tUàḍe (D.1973:133)
majesty papers EP your
hətth vIc ne mɛnũ ki pəta
hand in are to me what know
'Sir, papers are in your hand, how would I know?'

263. sər hər bənde da kəmm (D.1973:133)
sir every person of work

kərən da apo apṇa tərIkka hũda hɛ
to-do of own self way be is
'Sir, every person has his own way
to do work'.

5.3.2. Official to Non-official

The modes of address used by officials and non-officials while addressing each other are of different kinds. Mostly the situation, age and status of a person determine the choice of the modes of address. There is a reciprocal use of formal modes of address among the participants of more or less equal status. Informal modes of address are used for showing sympathy.

264. tUsĩ kItthe rɛ̃de ho
you where live are
'Where do you live?'

265. hUṇ tUsĩ cĨnta na kəro
now you worry not do
'Don't worry now'.

266. mere lalk koi seva ho tã dəsso
my for any service is then tell
'Please, tell me if there is
any service for me'.
(Please, tell me, what can I do for
you?)

An official may use polite words to show sympathy.

Examples:

267. bɛṭh ja bibi, tera kəmm mɛ̃ hUṇi
sit down bibi your work I now

kərãga
do-will
'Sit down (bibi), I will do your work just now'.

268. phIkər na kər, mɛ̃ tera kəmm
worry not do, I your work

zərur kərãga
definitely will-do
'Don't worry, I will do your work definitely'.

5.3.3. Non-official to Official

269. prá ji, tUsĩ mera kəmm kədo tək
brother HON, you my work when upto

kəroge
will-do
'Brother, when will you do my work?'

270. pài sáb, mɛnũ pɛsIã di rəsid
brother HON, to-me money of receipt

de deo
give give
'Brother, please give me the receipt of money'.

5.3.4. Shopkeeper to Customer

A shopkeeper normally addresses his customers by formal form of address, different modes of address are used to address different types of male and female customers, such as **biba ji, pɛ̀ŋ ji, mata ji, mai, sərdar ji,**

pàì sáb, práji, etc. Examples are given below:

271. ao pɛ̀ṇ ji, ki (KSG.1971:94)
come on sister HON, what

cə́ida e
want is
'Come on sister, what do you want?'

272. mata ji, rəṅ di cĩnta na kəro
mother HON, colour of worry don't do
'Mother, don't worry about colour?'

The term **mai** is generally used for quite old lady. In this context it does not refer to old maid servant, but as a term of respect as used for one's mother.

273. lɛ mai əṭṭh anne (KSG.1971:105)
take mother eight anna

di e
of is
'Take mother, it's cost is eight annas'.

Normally terms like **biba ji** are also used by the shopkeeper for younger females as in the examples given below:

274. biba ji, é prĩnṭ bɔ́t cəṅa hɛ
Biba HON, this print very good is
'Biba, this print is very good'.

275. biba, meri gəl mənno, é kəpṛa
Biba my talk accept this cloth

lɛ ləo
take

'Biba, accept my suggestion, take
this cloth'.

While addressing a male customer usually, a shopkeper may use formal terms of address used for the pople of higher status in the society as in the examples given below:

276. sərdar ji, é tUə̀ḍi əpni dUkan hɛ
Sardar HON, this your own shop is
'Sardarji, this is your own shop'.

277. aho babu ji, vIkhao (NS.1944:70)
yes babu HON, show
kə́ḍ ke kéṛiã kItabã ne
bringout CP which books are
'Bajuji, show me which books you have?'

278. prá ji, pɛse di phIkər na kəro
brother HON money of worry not do
'Brother, don't worry about money'.

279. pə̀i sáb, é jUtta bɔ́t cəllega
brother HON, this shoes very will last
'Brother, these shoes will last long'.

If a shopkeeper is acquainted with his customer, he may address him/her by his/her first name or by surname as in the examples given below:

280. hɛlo jəgdev, ki (KSG.1971:108)
hello Jagdev, how
hal cal hɛ bəi
condition are EP
'Hello Jagdev, how are you?'

281. hā̃ ji, šekh ji, (KSG.1971:108)
yes ji, Shekh HON,

phərmao
tell
'Yes, Shekh ji (please) tell me'.

282. kIō̃ bəi ki lɛṇa cǒdri (NS.1944:71)
why EP what take chodhri
'Chodhri, what do you want to purchase?'

But in certain cases, a shopkeper may also address his customer by non-honorific forms of address when he considers the status of customer lower or when he shows affection for the younger customers.

Examples:

283. baba, tɛnū̃ khə̃nḍ cə́idi hɛ
baba, you sugar want are
'Baba, do you want sugar?'

284. gUḍḍi tel tɛnū̃ kəl
Guddi (means dole) oil to-you tomorrow

mIlega
get-will
'Guddi, you will get oil tomorrow'.

285. bibi, mɛ̃ dam ni kəṭa səkda
bibi, I rates not reduce can
'Bibi, I cannot reduce rates'.

In the above examples, **baba** is used to address an old man. **gUḍḍi** and **bibi** are the terms used for showing affection or intimacy.

5.3.5. Customer to Shopkeeper

A shopkeeper is addressed both by honorific and non-honorific forms of address. Kinship terms of address like **práva, vira, pài** are also used to address him as in the examples given below:

286. práva, Ik ṭIkki sabən̩ (KSG.1971:105)
Brother, one piece soap

di tã̃ dei
of CP give
'Brother, give me a cake of soap'.

287. vira, tũ te lUṭṭ (KSG.1971:104)
Brother, you CP looting

pai hoi e
put happen are
'Brother, you are looting'.
(You rob people).

288. pUtra, hək̄k həlal di (KSG.1971:105)
son honest of

kəmai khani cáidi e
earning eat should is
'Son, earn money honestly'.

289. ve pài, tere pɛse (NS.1944:37)
Hey brother, your money

mar ke nəs te nə́i cəlle
killing CP running CP not going
'Brother, we are not going without paying your money'.

A shopkeeper receives non-honorific forms of address in an informal situation where the

customer is elder and has higher social status.

290. pə̀i menũ Us kIsəm da jUtta vIkha
Brother to-me that type of shoes show
'Brother, please show me that type of shoes'.

291. pə̀i Ik dərjən səntəria di de
Brother one dozen oranges of give

de
give
'Brother, give me one dozen of oranges'.

Honorific forms of address are also used by the customers as in the examples given below:

292. lala ji, Ik pɛkəṭ luṇ da deṇa
Lala HON, one packet salt of give
'Lalaji, give me a packet of salt'.

293. prá ji, Is kəpṛe di kInni
Brother HON, this cloth of how much

kImət hɛ
cost is
'Brother, how much does this cloth cost?'

294. pə̀i sáb, je é khərab hoi,
Brother HON, if this defective is

tã mɛ̃ vapəs kər dĩaga
then I return do will
'Brother, if it will be defective, then I will return it to you'.

295. kIõ šekh sáb, ki (Sekhon 1974:60)
why, Sheikh HON, what

kUcch hɛ je tUȁḍe kol
type is EP you have
'Sheikh Sahib, what do you have?'

If a shopkeeper is a big businessman, in that case **seth ji** will be used by the customer as in the examples below:

296. seth ji tUȁḍa karobar kɛsa cəl
Seth HON, your business how going

rIá hɛ
on is
Seth ji, how is your business going on?'

297. seṭh ji, əjj kəl tUsĩ káda
Seth HON, these days you what type

vəpar kər rə́e ho
business do-ing are
'Seth ji, what type of business you are doing these days?'

A hawker is being also addressed by the customer by his professional term of address.

Examples:

298. ó kele vale! Ure (KSG.1971:90)
O banana vendor here

gəll sUṇe na
talk listen
'O banana seller! come on listen'.

299. oe bəi kUkəṛiā̃ vallā̃ (Sekhon 1974:62)
O! P hen seller
'O! hen seller'.

5.3.6. Passenger to Rickshaw Puller

A person addresses a rickshaw puller as **ó rIkša wale/ó rIkša,** etc. Examples are given below:

300. ó rIkša, kI tũ sṭešən lɛ cəlega
o ricksnaw will you station take will
'O Rickshaw (puller), will you take us to station?'

301. ó rIkšawale, bəzar jaṇ de kInne
o rickshawale bazar to-go how much

pɛse ləega
money will take
'O Ricksha (puller), how much money will you charge for going to bazar?'

But Rickshaw puller always uses honorific form of address like **pɛ̀ṇ ji, bibi ji, mata ji, babu sáb, babu ji, sərdar ji,** etc.

302. pɛ̀ṇ ji, tUsĩ kĪtthe jaṇa hɛ
sister HON, you where to go have
'Sister, where will you go?'

303. babu sáb, jo tUsĩ deṇa cáo
Babu HON, whatever you pay want

de dena
give give
'Babu sahib, pay me whatever will please you'.

5.3.7. A Doctor to Patient

A doctor uses different types of modes of address while addressing his patients

according to his/her age, sex and social status. If a patient is grown up and of higher status, he addresses him/her by honorific form of address. If a patient is illiterate, he/she is addressed by non-honorific forms of address as in the examples given below:

304. sərdar ji, hUṇ tUàḍa ki hal hɛ
Sardar HON, now your what condition is
'Sardar ji, how are you feeling now?'

305. pɛ̀ṇ ji, tUàḍe sIr vIc dərd hɛ
sister HON, your head in ache is
'Sister, do you have headache?'

306. mata ji, é dəva rat nũ lɛṇa
mata HON, this medicine night at take
'Mataji, please take this medicine in the evening'.

307. cə̃ga babu ji, mɛ̃ tã cəlda (HS.1965:25)
O.K. babu HON, I P going
'O.K. Babuji, I am going'.

308. mai, ap lIkhẽgi, ke (HS.1965:26)
mai, you write-will, or
ə̃gUṭha lavẽgi
thumb impression put
'Mai, will you write or put thumb impression?'

309. bibi tɛnũ cəkkər a rə́e hɛ
bibi, you giddiness come-ing are
'Bibi, are you feeling giddiness?'

310. baba, tũ é dəva kədõ
Baba, you this medicine when

lItti si
take was
'Baba, when did you take this medicine?'

311. mai kə̀bra na səb ṭhik
mai worry not, every thing O.K.

ho javega
happen will be
'Mai, don't worry, every thing will be O.K.'

A doctor may address his patient by his first name, if they are acquainted with each other and the addressee is young in age as in the following examples:

312. mɔ́ṇ é dəva həfte vIcc pə̃j
Mohan, this medicine week in five

vari lɛṇi hɛ
time take is
'Mohan, you will have to take this medicine five time in a week'.

313. nIrməla bəcci, səcco (HṢ.1965:24)
Nirmala child, clearly

səcc dəs khə́da i?
true tell what eat have
'Nirmala, tell me clearly what have you eaten?'

314. ki kItta e gyan sIṅ (D.1973:138).
what done is Gyan Singh
'Gyan Singh, what have you done?'

315. rupa, dekh apṇe ap nū̃ (D.1973:138)
Rupa, look your-self to
'Rupa, look at yourself.'

It has been observed that a lady doctor addresses her patients mostly by kinship terms like **bibi, bibi ji, mata ji,** and **mata.** She also uses polite forms of address as in the following examples:

316. mIsṭər pran nath ji, (Sekhon 1974:123)
Mr. Pran Nath HON,

phərmaie
say
'Mr. Pran Nathji, please say'.

317. jo səttIa, teri (Sekhon 1974:127)
whatever Satya your

mərji hɛ, devĩ
desire is give
'Satya, pay me as you please'.

318. əccha bibi, mɛ̃ Inάda (Sekhon, 1974:126)
well bibi, I her

mUaIna kərdi sã
check up doing was
'Well bibi, I was examining her!'

319. əcchi tərã dekh ke (Sekhon 1974:126)
properly see CP

ṭhik dəsdi hã mai ji
proper tell am mai HON
'Maiji, I will tell you after examining her properly'.

320. əccha mata ji, (Sekhon 1974;128)
well mata HON

bÚdvar nũ Ilaj sUru
Wednesday to treatment start

kər dIã̃ge
do will
'O.K. Mataji, treatment will be started from Wednesday'.

321. mata, bɔ́t phIkər (Sekhon 1974:126)
mother much worried

di gəl nə́i
of matter not
'Mother, it is not a matter to be much worried about'.

The term **bibi ji**, is very frequently used by the doctor for female patients:

322. aie bibi ji, (Sekhon 1974:129)
come on bibi HON,

apda ki na hɛ ji
you name name is HON
'Come on bibiji, what is your name?'

5.3.8. Patient to Doctor

A doctor is always addressed by professional term like **ḍakṭər sáb, ḍakṭər**.

Examples:

323. ḍakṭər sáb, mɛ̃ é dəva dIn vIc
doctor HON, I this medicine day in

kInni var lɛṇi hɛ
how time take is
'Doctor Sahib, how many times I have to take this medicine in a day?'

324. ḍakṭər sáb, dəsso hUṇ (HS.1965:26)
doctor Hon, tell now

kIddã kita jave
how to do go
'Doctor, now tell me what to do?'

325. phIkər na karo, ḍakṭər ji cheti kəro
worry not do, doctor HON quick do
'Doctor ji, don't worry, (please) be quick'.

326. əccha ḍakṭər, éda peṭ (AP.1969:37)
well doctor, her stomach

jəra dekho
a little check
'Well doctor, please check her stomach'.

5.3.9. Lawyer to Client

In general, there is a reciprocal use of honorific or polite modes of address between a lawyer and a client. They may address each other by full names, surnames or professional title plus polite suffixes. In case the client belongs to a lower social status or is very well known to the lawyer, the lawyer may address him by non-honorific forms of address as well. The lawyer is normally addressed by an honorific form of address, usually by **vəkil sáb.**

327. tUsĩ kes di phikər na kəro
you case of worry not do
'Don't worry about the case'.

328. tUàḍi peši somvar
your hearing Monday

nũ hɛ
on is
'The hearing of your case is on Monday'.

329. baba, é pharəm pə̀r do
baba, this form fill up
'Baba, fill up this form'.

330. bibi, etthe gUṭṭha la de
bibi, here thumb put give
'Bibi, put your thumb print here'.

5.3.10. Client to Lawyer

331. vəkil sáb, mere mŨṇḍe di jəmanət
vakil HON, my boy of bail

kədõ hovegi
when will be
'Vakil Saahib, when will my son be released on bail?'

332. vəkil sáb, cori da mere pas koi
vakil HON, theft of I have any

səbut nə́i
proof not
'Vakil Sahib, I don't have any proof of theft'.

Above analysis shows the use of addressing terms in different professions. A person of higher social status may be addressed by the professional titles, like **inspɛkṭər sáb, vəkil sáb, ḍakṭər sáb, mənegər sáb, profesər sáb,** etc. There are many other professions of lower social status where professional terms of address are not used. For example, a shop-

keeper, a milkman, a washerman, etc., are addressed by the familial terms like **pài sáb, prá ji**, etc., and females are addressed by **pènji, mai**, etc. In addition to familial terms the religious identification terms like **sərdar ji, pəndIt ji** are also used for addressing addressees in professional relationship.

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6. FREQUENCY IN THE USE OF MODES OF ADDRESS

6.1. The Sample

A total number of 80 respondents belonging to various districts of Punjab were interviewed and observed for the use of modes of address in various situations.

6.1.1. Age-group and Sex

These respondents were divided into three age groups: **A1** (Age 10-20 years), **A2** (Age 20-41 years) and **A3** (Age above 40 years). The Table No.1 shows the distribution in terms of sex and age group.

TABLE NO.1

Age group	Male	Female
A1	11	6
A2	22	18
A3	13	10
Total ...	46	3 4

6.1.2. Districts

The respondents belonging to different districts of Punjab are represented in the Table No.2 below:

TABLE NO.2

Age group	Male	Female	District
A1	9	6	Patiala
	1	--	Amritsar
A2	20	12	Patiala
	1	1	Sangrur
	1	1	Ludhiana
	--	2	Hoshiarpur
	--	1	Gurdaspur
	--	1	Ropar
A3	9	7	Patiala
	2	--	Sangrur
	2	--	Karpurthala
	--	3	Bathinda

6.1.3. Religion

The respondents belong to three religions groups:

(1) Sikhs, (2) Hindus and (3) Muslims.

TABLE NO.3

Age group	Sikh		Hindu		Muslim	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
A1	4	3	7	3	--	--
A2	12	8	9	10	1	--
A3	7	8	5	2	1	--
Total	23	19	21	15	2	--

6.1.4. Education

Out of 80 respondents, 24 are illiterate and 56 literate. The literate persons ranged between primary and post-graduate level. Their distribution in terms of age group is given as follows in Table No.4.

TABLE NO.4

Age group	Illiterate	Literate
A1	2	15
A2	8	32
A3	14	9
Total	24	56

6.1.5. Occupation

The respondents belong to various occupations. See the Table No.5 given below:

TABLE NO.5

Occupation	Age group			Total
	A1	A2	A3	
Teachers	1	12	5	18
Students	13	4	--	17
Office goers	1	11	5	17
Businessman	--	2	4	6
Gardener	--	2	2	4
Agriculturalist	--	2	3	5
Housewives	1	4	8	13

As illustrated above, the sample consisted of the respondents both males and females, belonging to three different age groups, different geographical regions, with different backgrounds in education and belonging to different occupations. The variables of sex, religion, region, education and occupation were not found much relevant for the present study. We have therefore, collated the result on the basis of three age groups only. The age group appears a dominat and decisive

factor in the frequency of the use of modes of address in the present study. Wherever necessary we have made references to other variables as well.

6.2. Use of Modes of Address

In all 71 major items under familial, social and professional relations (see Appendix-I) were included for observation and discussion. The respondents in some cases gave more than one choice for addressing an addressee mostly under social and professional relations. Such responses were also taken into consideration for the analysis. In this section, we will briefly discuss the results and give the information in terms of total percentage for the use of these modes of address among the familial relations, social relations and professional relations. All the items are discussed separately below.

Social Relations

6.2.1. Father

A father is addressed by 15 different terms of address as given in the Table No.6 below. Among the respondents of A1 group, the terms **pàpa ji, ḍɛḍi/ḍɛḍi ji, bapu**, etc., are used in this preference. The term **pàpa ji** is most

frequently used by respondents of A1 and A2. The terms of address **pIta ji** and **bapu** are very frequently used by the A3 group of respondents. It is interesting to note that **ḍɛḍi ji** (borrowed from English) is mostly used by A1 respondents. Similarly, the term **pIta ji** is used mostly by the A3 respondents. The terms **əbba** or **əbba jan** are used only by Muslim respondents (Table No.6).

TABLE NO.6

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pàpa ji	32.0	15.3	5.0
ḍɛḍi	18.7	7.6	-
bapu	18.7	7.6	25.0
bapu ji	12.5	12.8	10.0
bai	6.2	5.1	5.0
bau ji	6.2	5.0	-
bai ji	-	12.8	10.0
pàpa	-	2.5	-
caca ji	-	2.5	-
caca	-	10.2	5.0
pIta ji	-	7.6	40.0
dar ji	-	5.1	-
ḍɛḍi ji	6.2	2.5	-
əbba	-	-	5.0
əbba jan	-	2.5	-

6.2.2. Father's Father

There is a choice of 12 terms of address used for father's father by respondents. The terms **baba/baba ji** followed by **bai ji** and **dada ji** are frequently used by A1 group. The A2 and A3 groups use the terms **baba/baba ji** and **dada ji** very frequently. The terms like **caca ji, lala** and **bapu ji** are used by the A3 group only, and are not very frequently used (Table No.7).

TABLE NO.7

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
baba	23.5	16.0	16.6
baba ji	23.5	32.2	50.0
bai ji	23.5	10.0	-
dada ji	17.6	25.8	16.6
pàpa ji	5.8	6.4	-
pIta ji	5.8	3.2	-
bai	-	3.2	-
bau ji	-	3.2	-
caca ji	-	-	4.1
lala ji	-	-	4.1
bapu ji	-	-	8.3

6.2.3. Father's Mother

There is a choice between 15 terms for addressing one's father's mother. The A1 speakers use the terms **əmma/əmma ji** and **dadi/dadi ji** very frequently. A2 and A3 speakers, use the terms **dadi/dadi ji** and **əmma** frequently. **əmma ji** appears to be frequently used by A1 speakers and is rarely used by A2 and A3 speakers (Table No.8).

TABLE NO.8

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
əmma	25.0	16.6	18.1
dadi	12.5	10.0	27.2
dadi ji	12.5	20.0	36.3
dadi mã	-	3.3	-
bibi ji	6.2	3.3	-
bi ji	6.2	3.3	-
əmma ji	31.2	3.3	4.5
mata ji	6.2	6.6	-
mãji	-	6.6	4.5
pàbi ji	-	3.3	-
be ji	-	3.3	-
bebe ji	-	3.3	4.5
mã	-	3.3	-
əmbo	-	-	4.5

6.2.4. Father's Elder Brother

There are two forms of kinship terms of address **taIa** and **taIa ji** for father's elder brother. Most of the respondents use honorific form **taIa ji** (Table No.9).

TABLE NO.9

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
taIa	25.0	22.2	33.3
taIa ji	75.0	77.7	66.6

6.2.5. Father's Younger Brother

The kinship terms of address **caca ji/ caca** are most frequently used in all the three groups. **ə̃nkəl** (a borrowed term) is used by the A1 group of respondents only. Similarly, **caca jan** is used by Muslims only (Table No.10).

TABLE NO.10

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
caca	15.3	22.9	33.3
caca ji	69.2	66.6	66.6
ə̃nkəl ji	15.3	-	-
caca	-	3.7	-
caca ji	-	3.7	-

6.2.6. Father's Elder Sister

The kinship terms of address **pùa ji/pùa** are very frequently used by all the three groups. **ãnṭi** (based on a borrowed English term **aunt**) is used by A1 speakers only. Similarly **phuphi jan** is preferred by Muslims (Table No.11).

TABLE NO.11

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pua ji	75.0	64.2	66.6
pua	18.7	28.5	28.5
ãnṭi	6.2	-	-
phuphi jan	-	3.5	-
bebe ji	-	3.5	-
bebe	-	-	4.7

6.2.7. Father's Younger Sister

Out of the choice of four terms, **pùa ji** is most frequently used by the respondents which is followed by **pùa**- an informal term. Only a very low percentage of respondents under A1 group use **ãnṭi** (based on a borrowed word aunt) (Table No.12).

TABLE NO.12

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pù̀a ji	73.3	59.0	68.4
pù̀a	20.0	36.3	31.5
ãnṭi	6.6	-	-
bebe ji	-	4.5	-

6.2.8. Father's Sister's Husband

Out of several choices for addressing one's father's sister's husband, most of the respondents use the honorific kinship term **phUphəṛ ji** which is followed by non-honorific one **phUphəṛ** as term of address. Other terms are used by a small number of respondents (Table No.13).

TABLE NO.13

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
phUphəṛ ji	82.3	83.3	61.9
phUphəṛ	17.3	-	33.3
baba	-	-	4.7
ə̃nkəl ji	-	4.1	-
pai	-	4.1	-
phupha jan	-	4.1	-
pàia ji	-	4.1	-

6.2.9. Mother

There are at least 15 terms used by the respondents in addressing their mother. In A1 group terms **bibi/bibi ji** followed by the **məmmi** are mostly used. The A2 and A3 respondents mostly use **bebe**. In A3 the terms like **mata ji**, **mã** and **pàbi** are also used by good number of people, followed by the terms like **əmma** and **mã ji** (Table No.14).

TABLE NO.14

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
mata ji	5.8	10.0	13.6
bebe ji	-	7.5	4.5
əmma	5.8	5.0	9.0
məmmi	23.5	5.0	-
bi ji	5.8	12.5	-
bibi	41.1	12.5	4.5
bebe	5.8	20.0	18.1
bibi ji	11.7	12.5	9.0
məmmi ji	-	5.0	-
càì ji	-	5.0	-
be ji	-	2.5	-
əmma ji	-	2.5	4.5
mã	-	-	13.6
pàbi	-	-	13.6
mãji	-	-	9.6

6.2.10. Mother's Father

There are at least 9 terms of address used for one's mother's father. The kinship terms **nana ji** or **nana** are frequently used by most of the respondents. The formal term has higher frequency of use (Table No.15).

TABLE NO.15

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
nana	17.6	13.3	31.8
nana ji	70.5	56.6	59.0
baba ji	-	3.3	4.5
bapu ji	5.8	3.3	-
papa ji	5.8	3.3	-
bai ji	-	10.0	-
lala ji	-	3.3	4.5
bapu	-	3.3	-
bai	-	3.3	-

6.2.11. Mother's Mother

There are at least nine terms used for addressing one's mother's mother. The formal kinship term **nani ji** is mostly used followed by the informal term **nani** by the respondents. In A3 group, the term **mata ji** is also used by a good number of respondents. The terms

like **mata ji, bi ji** and **mã ji** used by A1 group appear to be under the influence of their frequent use by the A2 and A3 group of repondents for addressing their mother (Table No.16).

TABLE NO.16

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
nani	17.6	22.5	36.3
nani ji	64.7	58.0	45.4
mata ji	5.8	3.2	9.0
bi ji	5.8	-	-
mã ji	5.8	-	-
bibi ji	-	3.2	-
be ji	-	6.4	-
nani mã	-	-	4.5

6.2.12. Mother's Brother

Mostly the formal kinship term of address **mama** ji is used by the respondents in addressing their mother's brothers. A lower percentage of people use **mama** the informal one. This term has good frequency in A3 (Table No.17).

TABLE NO.17

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
mama ji	94.1	70.0	60.0
mama	5.8	30.0	40.0

6.2.13. Elder Brother

There are at least ten terms of address besides the personal names (first name, nick name and full name) for addressing one's elder brother. The formal kinship term **vir ji** is used by most of the respondents. The informal term **vir** appears to be more frequent in A2. In A1 group, the first name is also used to address one's elder brother by youngsters. The other kinship terms like **pài, vira, pà ji, prà, pài sáb** and nick names are used by a good number of respondents of A2 group. In A3 group, the kinship terms **bai, prà ji** and personal names are also used by a good number of respondents (Table No.18).

TABLE NO.18

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
vir ji	50.0	45.4	21.0
vir	8.3	21.2	5.2
bai	8.3	21.2	5.2
FN	25.0	6.0	15.8
NN	8.3	3.3	-
Full name	-	6.0	21.0
pài	-	3.3	-
vira	-	3.3	-

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
paji	-	3.3	-
pra	-	3.3	-
pài sab	-	3.3	-
pàpa ji	-	-	5.2
prà ji	-	-	15.7

6.2.14. Younger Brother

Most of the respondents in A1 and A2 groups address their younger brothers by nick names or first names. Th use of first names appears to be of high frequency in A3 group, probably because nick names were not very commonly used earlier. **pài** a kinship term of address appears to be used by a good number of respondents in A3 group (Table No.19).

TABLE NO.19

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	53.8	42.4	11.1
FN	46.1	36.3	44.4
vir	-	6.0	11.1
pài	-	6.0	27.7
prà	-	3.0	-
Full name	-	3.0	-
bai	-	3.0	5.5

6.2.15. Mother's Sister

The kinship terms **massi ji** and **massi** are mostly used by all the three groups. The non-polite form without the honorific suffix is used by good number of speakers in A3 (Table No.20).

TABLE NO.20

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
massi ji	90.9	70.2	59.0
massi	9.9	24.3	40.9
FN	-	2.7	-
bebe	-	2.7	-

6.2.16. Mother's Sister's Husband

Mostly the kinship terms **masəṛ ji** and **masəṛ** are used by all the three groups. In A3 group the non-polite form **masəṛ** is used by a good number of people (Table No.21).

TABLE NO.21

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
masəṛ ji	92.8	81.8	59.1
masəṛ	7.1	15.0	40.9
bai	-	3.0	-

6.2.17. Elder Brother's Wife

There are several choices for addressing one's elder brother's wife. The kinship terms **pàbi/pàbi ji, pə̀rjai ji** are most frequently in use. Whereas all the four terms are used by equal number of the respondents in A1 group, **pàbi/pàbi ji** are used by most of the speakers in A2 and A3 groups. The term **pàbi jan** is used only by Muslims (Table No.22).

TABLE NO.22

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pàbi	25.0	32.0	33.3
pə̀erjai ji	25.0	8.0	16.6
pərjai	25.0	8.0	22.2
pàbi ji	25.0	40.0	22.2
FN	-	-	5.5
pàbi jan	-	4.0	-
NN	-	8.0	-

6.2.18. Younger Brother's Wife

A younger brother's wife is mostly addressed by her first name or a nick name. The terms **pàbi** and **pàbi ji** are used by good number of respondents in A2 group. The speakers in the A3 group use **beṭi** as well (Table No.23).

TABLE NO.23

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	-	16.6	5.5
FN	-	44.4	61.1
beṭi	-	-	16.6
pabi ji	-	16.6	11.1
pàbi	-	22.2	5.5

6.2.19. Brother's Son

A brother's son, being normally younger in age, is addressed by first name or a nick name by most of the respondents in all the three groups. The term **beṭa** is used by a good percentage of respondents in A2 (Table No.24).

TABLE NO.24

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	100.0	29.6	70.0
NN	-	66.6	20.0
beṭa	-	3.7	5.0
Full name	-	-	5.0

6.2.20. Brother's Daughter

A brother's daughter, normally being younger

in age, is addressed by her first name or nick name by all the respondents. The terms like **beṭi** or **kUṛie** are used only by a low percentage of people (Table No.25).

TABLE NO.25

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	33.3	41.6	63.1
FN	66.6	54.1	31.5
beṭi	-	-	5.2
kUṛie	-	4.1	-

6.2.21. Elder Sister

The kinship terms **pɛ̀ṇ/pɛ̀ṇ ji** are mostly used for addresshing one's elder sister. The term **didi** is used by a good number of A1 group speakers, some of them (when very young) use first name or nick name as well. The term **bibi** is used by some A2 and A3 group of speakers only (Table No.26).

TABLE NO.26

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	9.0	-	-
pɛ̀ṇ ji	-	36.3	56.2

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
didi	27.2	4.5	-
bibi	-	18.1	12.5
pɛ̀ṇ	54.5	31.8	31.2
FN	9.0	9.0	-

6.2.22. Younger Sister

Mostly the family nick name or first name is used in addressing one's younger sister. In A3 group some respondents use **pɛ̀ṇ ji** as well. A low percentage of people in the A1 group use the kinship term **pɛ̀ṇ** (Table No.27).

TABLE NO.27

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	70.0	55.5	50.0
FN	20.0	37.0	31.2
bibi	-	3.7	6.2
pɛṇ ji	-	-	12.5
pɛṇ	10.0	3.7	-

6.2.23. Elder Sister's Husband

The term **jija ji** is most frequently used by all the respondents. A lower percentage

of people use non-polite term **jija** as well among A2 and A3 groups. other terms like **pàia ji** or **pài sáb** are used by a small number of people in A2 and A3 groups (Table No.28).

TABLE NO.28

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Only ji (tUsĩ)	-	4.5	-
Full name	-	9.0	6.6
jija	-	9.0	13.3
jija ji	100.0	63.6	66.6
paia ji	-	9.0	6.6
pai	-	-	6.6
pai sáb	-	4.5	-

6.2.24. Younger Sister's Husband

The term **jija ji** is used by most of the respondents of A2 group and some in A3 group. Largest number of respondents in A3 use the full name and also first name as a term of address. The full name and the first name are used by a good number of respondents in A2 group as well (Table No.29).

TABLE NO.29

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Full name	-	30.0	41.6
jija ji	-	40.0	16.6
FN	-	15.0	25.0
jija	-	-	8.3
bau ji	-	-	8.3
Name + ji	-	5.0	-
pài sáb	-	5.0	-
pàIa ji	-	5.0	-

6.2.25. Sister's Son

A nick name or first name is used very frequently for addressing one's sister's son (usually younger in age) (Table No.30).

TABLE NO.30

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	100.0	13.6	38.8
FN	-	86.3	50.0
Full name	-	-	11.1

6.2.26. Sister's Daughter

Mostly the nick name or first name is used

in addressing one's sister's daughter. A small number of respondents in A2 and A3 use affectionate kinship terms like **kUṛi** or **beṭi** as a mode of address (Table No.31).

TABLE NO.31

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	100.0	77.7	50.0
FN	-	22.3	43.7
beṭi/kUṛi	-	-	6.2

6.2.27. Son

A son is usually addressed by his nick name or first name by his parents. The affectionate kinship terms like **pUtt, beṭa** are used by a small number of respondents (Table No.32).

TABLE NO.32

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	-	62.9	42.8
FN	-	14.8	52.3
pUtt / beṭa	-	14.8	4.7
Full name	-	7.4	-

6.2.28. Father's Brother's Son

The nick name, first name, full name, the kinship terms **vir** and **pài** are used mostly for younger cousins. The polite kinship terms **vir ji**, **pài ji** and **bai ji** are used for elders (Table No.33).

TABLE NO.33

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Full name	-	-	8.3
NN	31.2	36.1	33.3
FN	25.0	19.4	-
vir ji	25.0	14.4	-
pài sáb	-	-	8.3
pài	-	-	8.3
bai ji	6.2	-	-
pà ji	-	2.7	-

6.2.29. Father's Sister's Son

Mostly nick name, first name, full name and kinship terms like **prà**, **bai**, **vir** are used for addressing younger cousins of more or less same age. The polite terms like **vir ji**, **pài sáb**, **pa ji**, **pàpa ji** and **name + vir ji** are used for elders or in formal situations only (Table No.34).

TABLE NO.34

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Full name	-	17.2	-
NN	30.0	27.5	23.5
FN	25.0	31.0	35.8
vir ji	35.0	17.2	-
pài sáb	-	3.4	-
prà	-	-	5.8
bai	-	-	5.8
Name + vir ji	-	-	5.8
pài	-	-	11.7
pà ji	5.0	-	-
pàpa ji	-	-	5.8
vir	5.0	3.4	5.8

6.2.30. Father's Brother's Daughter

Mostly the kinship terms **pɛ̀ṇ, pɛ̀ṇ ji** and first name are used by A1 group of respondent and they are used by a good number of speakers in A2 and A3. A girl's nick name is used by most of the respondents of A2 and A3 groups. A name plus **pɛ̀ṇ ji** is used by some respondents in A3 group (Table No.35).

TABLE NO.35

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
bibi	-	5.8	-
pɛṇ	30.7	17.7	-
pɛṇ ji	23.0	20.5	-
FN	30.7	14.7	12.5
Name + pɛṇ ji	-	-	12.5
NN	15.3	41.1	50.0

6.2.31. Father's Sister's Daughter

The kinship terms **pɛ̀ṇ, pɛ̀ṇ ji**, nick name and full name are used by most of the A3 group speakers. In A2 group, most of the speakers use nick name and first name. All the A3 group respondents use the polite kinship term **pɛ̀ṇ ji** for the elders (Table No.36).

TABLE NO.36

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pɛ̀ṇ ji	22.2	10.7	100.0
pɛ̀ṇ	27.7	10.7	-
NN	22.2	46.4	-
FN	27.7	28.5	-
Full name	-	3.5	-

6.2.32. Daughter

Mostly daughter's nick name and first name are used in addressing her by her parents. Some respondents address their daughters by full name. A small percentage of respondents use the affectionate kinship terms like **beṭi** or **tìe** in addressing her (Table No.37).

TABLE NO.37

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
beṭi/tìe	-	9.5	5.8
NN	-	61.9	52.9
FN	-	23.8	29.4
Full name	-	4.7	11.7

6.2.33. Mother's Brother's Son

The nick name, first name and **vir ji** are very common in use for addressing ones mother's brother's son. The full name is used by a good number of respondents of A3 group (Table No.38).

TABLE NO.38

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	12.5	28.5	33.3
pài	-	-	9.5
vir ji	43.7	17.1	9.5

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Name + vir ji	-	-	4.7
NN	43.7	40.0	19.0
pə̀i sáb	-	8.5	4.7
kaka ji	-	-	4.7
Full name	-	5.7	14.2

6.2.34. Mother's Brother's Daughter

Mostly **pɛ̀ṇ ji** is used by the respondents of all the three age groups in addressing one's mother's brother's daughter. The kinship term **didi** is used only by respondents of A1 group. **pɛ̀ṇ** and nick name are also used by a good number of respondents in A1, A2 and A3 for the younger ones (Table No.39).

TABLE NO.39

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
nn	23.4	19.0	-
pɛ̀ṇ ji	26.6	39.0	37.5
FN	8.0	15.8	26.3
pɛ̀ṇ	8.0	26.2	23.2
didi	34.0	-	-
Full name	-	-	13.0

6.2.35. Mother's Sister's Son

An elder cousin is addressed by **vir ji** and cousins of more or less the same age are addressed by a nick name, first name or full name by the respondents of all the age groups (Table No.40).

TABLE NO.40

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pàpa ji	-	-	6.6
NN	38.4	33.3	-
FN	15.3	24.2	33.3
pài	-	-	13.3
vira	7.6	6.0	-
Full name	-	15.1	20.0
pài sáb ji	-	6.0	6.0
vir ji	38.4	15.1	20.0

6.2.36. Mother's Sister's Daughter

The nick name is mostly used by the respondents of A1 and A2 groups. **didi** and **pɛ̀ṇ** ji are also used for elders. The addressee's first name or the kinship terms **pɛ̀ṇ/pɛ̀ṇ** ji are mostly used by the respondents of A2 and A3 (Table No.41).

TABLE NO.41

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	33.3	29.0	-
pɛṇ ji	16.6	29.0	27.2
FN	8.3	25.8	36.3
pɛ̀ṇ	16.6	16.1	27.2
didi	25.0	-	-
Full name	-	-	9.0

6.2.37. Wife

Mostly first name or a nick name is used in addressing one's wife. Only a small number of respondents avoid to use wife's name and address her by indirect terms of address like **Subáš di bibi** (Subhash's mother). Muslims also use **begəm** as a term of address (Table No.42).

TABLE NO.42

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	-	46.6	58.3
NN	-	40.0	25.0
tUsĩ	-	-	8.3
begəm	-	6.6	-
sUbáš di bibi	-	-	8.3
Only ji	-	6.6	-

6.2.38. Wife's Elder Brother

Most A2 group respondents use the first name and A3 group respondents **vir ji** or full name for the addressee. The address term **pài sáb** or any other polite form of address is also used by A2 group (Table No.43).

TABLE NO.43

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
vir ji	-	8.3	37.5
Full name	-	-	37.5
First name	-	58.3	25.0
pài sáb	-	33.4	-

6.2.39. Wife's Elder Sister

Mostly the kinship term **pèṇ ji** is used by the A2 respondents. The respondents of A3 group use the first name and other terms like **bibi, pèṇ ji** (Table No.44).

TABLE NO.44

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	-	25.0	60.0
bibi	-	-	20.0
pèṇ ji	-	75.0	20.0

6.2.40. Wife's Younger Brother

Addressee's first name is mostly used by the respondents. His nick name or full name is also used. A small percentage of people use a polite term **vir ji** (Table No.45).

TABLE NO.45

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
vir ji	-	9.0	-
FN	-	36.3	72.7
NN	-	27.2	9.0
Full name	-	27.2	-

6.2.41. Wife's Younger Sister

Addressees are mostly addressed by their nick names or first names. A small number of people use the kinship term pɛ̀ṇ for her (Table No.46).

TABLE NO.46

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN	-	46.0	50.0
FN	-	38.4	50.0
pɛ̀ṇ	-	15.3	-

6.2.42. Wife's Mother

Mostly the terms of address used by one's wife for her mother are used by her husband as well while addressing his mother-in-law. There are several choices for addressing her (Table No.47).

TABLE NO.47

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
bibi	-	10.0	-
mata ji	-	10.0	41.6
bebe	-	10.0	8.3
bebe ji	-	20.0	-
bibi ji	-	10.0	8.3
əmma ji	-	10.0	-
pȁbi ji	-	-	25.0
bi ji	-	-	8.3
cȁi ji	-	10.0	8.3
əmma	-	10.0	-

6.2.43. Wife's Father

Mostly the terms used by a lady for addressing her father are used by her husband as well in addressing his father-in-law (Table No.48).

TABLE NO.48

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
bai ji	-	27.2	-
bapu	-	9.0	18.1
bapu ji	-	9.0	-
pàpa ji	-	9.0	9.0
bai	-	-	9.0
baba ji	-	9.0	9.0
pIta ji	-	18.1	36.3
∂bba ji	-	-	9.0
ḍεḍi ji	-	9.0	9.0
caca ji	-	9.0	-

6.2.44. Husband

Indirect forms of address like **ji, suno ji, munne de bapu** type etc., are used by most of the respondents. The professional or community honorific titles like **sardar ji, lala ji** are used mostly by A3 group respondents. A lower percentage of people use the surname plus honorific title **sáb** for the addressees (Table No.49)

TABLE NO.49

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	-	7.1	-
sərdar/lala/ Titles + ji	-	7.1	42.6
Surname + sáb	-	7.1	14.2
Indirect address ji etc.	-	77.7	42.4

6.2.45. Husband's Elder Brother

The terms **pài sáb** and **vir ji** are mostly used for the addressees. A woman generally uses the same term for addressing her husband's brother as used by her husband for him (Table No.50).

TABLE NO.50

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pàIa ji	-	-	16.6
pài sáb	-	60.0	33.3
gUḍḍa da taya	-	-	16.6
pài	-	-	33.3
vir ji	-	40.0	-

6.2.46. Husband's Elder Sister

The term **pɛ̀ṇ ji** is mostly used by the respondents of A2 group. The term bibi is mostly used by the A3 group respondents (Table No.51).

TABLE NO.51

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pɛ̀ṇ ji	-	90.0	33.3
bibi ji	-	-	50.0
bebe	-	-	16.6
didi	-	9.0	-

6.2.47. Husband's Younger Brother

The first name and nick name are mostly used for the addressee by A2 group. The A3 group of respondents use **pài** (Table No.52).

TABLE NO.52

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pài	-	-	100.0
FN	-	83.3	-
Full name	-	8.3	-
NN	-	8.3	-

6.2.48. Husband's Younger Sister

Mostly the addressee's first name or nick name are used as a term of address. The terms like **bibi** or **pɛ̀ṇ ji** are also used (Table No.53).

TABLE NO.53

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Full name	-	10.0	-
bibi	-	-	50.0
pɛṇ ji	-	10.0	25.0
NN	-	10.0	25.0
FN	-	70.0	-

6.2.49. Husband's Mother

There are several choices for addressing the addressee. Mostly the term of address used by one's husband for his mother is adopted by his wife as well. Terms like **mata ji**, **bibi ji**, **bi ji** and **bebe ji** are very frequently used (Table No.54).

TABLE NO.54

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
bibi	-	6.6	-
bibi ji	-	6.6	-

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
mã	-	-	14.2
mata ji	-	26.6	14.2
mã ji	-	-	12.2
pàbi ji	-	-	14.2
be ji	-	13.3	-
bebe ji	-	6.6	42.8
əmma	-	13.3	-
məmmi ji	-	6.6	-
bi ji	-	20.0	-

6.2.50. Husband's Father

The terms which are used by one for his father are usually used by his wife for her father-in-law. The honorific terms like **bapu ji, pàpa ji** and **pIta ji, bai ji** are mostly used for the addressee (Table No.55).

TABLE NO.55

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
bapu ji	-	28.5	66.6
bai ji	-	21.4	16.6
bau ji	-	-	16.6
pàpa ji	-	28.5	-
pIta ji	-	21.3	-

Social Relations

6.2.51. Landlord

Mostly the honorific terms of address like **lala ji, sərdar ji,** surname plus honorific suffixes ji and **sáb**, kinship terms like **ə̃nkəl ji, bai ji, bapu ji** are used in addressing male landlords by tenants. Similarly, **pɛ̀ṇ ji, bebe, mata ji, bibi ji, anṭi ji**, etc., are used for addressing landladies by tenants (Table No.56).

TABLE NO.56

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
ənkəl ji/ã̃nṭi ji	-	25.0	-
lala ji/pɛ̀ṇ ji	-	25.0	25.0
sərdar ji/pə̃nḍət ji/ Surname + ji	-	25.0	25.0
bai ji	-	3.5	25.0
bapu ji	-	3.5	-
bebe	-	3.5	-
mata ji	-	15.0	12.5
bibi ji	-	-	12.5

6.2.52. Tenant

Tenants are generally addressed by the landlords/landladies using polite forms of address depending on their social status.

Tenant's name or surname plus honorific suffixes like **ji, sáb**, kinship terms like **prà ji, vir ji,** etc., are normally used for addressing male tenants. Female tenants are also addressed by terms like **bibi ji, pɛṇ ji,** etc. The age and social status of the tenants mostly determines the choice for the use of terms of address (Table No.57).

TABLE NO.57

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Name	-	64.6	50.0
Title + sáb	-	11.6	12.5
bibi ji/pɛ̀ṇ ji	-	5.8	37.5
prà ji/vir ji	-	11.6	-
sərdar ji	-	5.8	-

6.2.53. Master

Mostly a servant addresses his master by the honorific forms of address- **sáb,** surname plus **sáb** or **ji** or by honorific kinship terms like **prà ji, pɛ̀ṇ ji, bibi ji,** etc. Youngsters are addressed by first name or nick name, etc., in affection (Table No.58).

TABLE NO.58

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pra ji/pèṇ ji	-	33.3	9.0
sáb/bibi ji	-	33.3	45.0
Title + sáb/ji	-	33.3	45.0

6.2.54. Servants

Servants are usually addressed by their first names or nick names. An elderly servant is addressed by a kinship term like **caca/caci** or **pài**, etc. **mata ji** is also used by addressing an elder lady servant by youngsters in affection (Table No.59).

TABLE NO.59

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
caca/caci	33.3	-	-
mai ji	-	-	8.3
FN	66.6	75.0	41.6
pài	-	-	8.3
mata ji	-	-	8.3
NN	-	25.0	25.0

6.2.55. Friends

Mostly the relationship between friends is of informal nature. It has however been observed that honorific and polite forms of address are used when the addressee is older in age than the addresser and if he/she has higher social status. Friends in Punjabi society (as in rest of the country) generally belong to same sex and have more or less same social status and belong to same age group. The modes of address are of two types: (a) Formal and (b) Non-formal.

6.2.55.1. Formal

In this category honorific suffixes are added to kinship personal names/titles and kinship terms used for address (Table No.60).

TABLE NO.60

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
vir ji/pài sab/prà ji/ pɛ̀ṇ ji	37.6	37.1	46.4
Surname/Title + sáb ji	-	43.8	41.5
didi/didi ji	62.4	19.1	12.1

6.2.55.2. Non-formal

In this category FN, NN, Surname, etc.,

are used as terms of address (Table No.61).

TABLE NO.61

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN/FN + ji	52.1	25.7	34.5
NN/Surname	37.2	36.1	25.2
Full name	10.7	25.6	30.1
yar/pai	-	7.7	4.2
pɛ̀ṇ/vir	-	4.9	6.0

6.2.56. Strangers

One may meet strangers of different age groups. The approximate age and status (by appearance, etc.) is very important in making a choice of modes of address for an addressee. An elder stranger is normally addressed by a polite or honorific form of address including some kinship terms. Terms like **baba ji, pà ji, prà ji, sərdar ji, babu ji, ə̃nkəl ji, caca ji** or merely **ji** or **sáb** are used for elder strangers and the terms like **əmma ji, mata ji, pɛ̀ṇ ji, caci ji, ã̃nṭi ji**, etc., used for elder female strangers. Mostly polite or honorific terms of address as stated above are used for the strangers of equal age group as well. Some non-honorific or informal forms

of address like **pài, vir, pɛ̀ṇ, didi** for youngsters, or for those whose social status by appearance or profession is much lower than that of the addresser. The youngsters (in early age group) are addressed by affectionate terms like **kaka, pUtt, beṭa, mŨḍia,** etc., used for males, and **gUḍḍi, biba, mUnni, beṭi, kUṛie,** etc., for females. There are no hard and fast rules for addressing the strangers. Mostly the terms used are determined by the age and social status of the persons involved in conversation. See the Table Nos.62, 63 and 64, below:

6.2.56.1. Older Strangers

TABLE NO.62

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
baba ji/baba	20.4	19.5	9.4
pài/pà ji	4.5	8.6	9.4
ji	-	2.1	9.4
bir ji	11.3	6.5	1.8
pài sáb	9.0	-	9.4
gIani ji	-	-	1.8
Mr./sáb	-	-	3.6
prà ji/pà ji	-	13.0	-

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
tai ji/caci ji	4.5	8.6	1.8
pɛ̀ṇ ji/pɛṇ	-	-	30.1
mata ji	6.8	21.7	3.7
∂mma	2.2	-	-
bebe ji	2.2	2.17	-
caca ji	6.8	-	-
∂mma ji	11.3	-	3.7
didi ji/bibi ji/didi	2.2	-	3.7
s∂rdar ji	-	6.5	9.4
bUjUrgo	-	-	5.6
∂̃nk∂l ji	9.0	2.1	-
ãnṭi ji	9.0	4.3	-

6.2.56.2. Strangers of Equal Age Group

TABLE NO.63

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pai sáb	11.1	29.4	21.7
pài/pà ji	-	19.6	13.4
vir ji	11.1	9.8	4.3
ji/tUsĩ	-	21.5	13.4
sáb	-	-	2.11

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
sərdar ji	-	-	2.1
Mr./sab	-	-	4.3
prà ji	5.5	7.8	2.1
pɛ̀ṇ ji	33.3	1.9	34.7
pɛ̀ṇ/biba	11.1	-	2.1
yar/bai	5.5	-	-
aṛi	5.5	-	-
vir	5.5	1.9	-
didi/bibi	5.5	1.9	-
mɛḍəm/sIsṭər	-	1.9	2.1

6.2.56.3. Younger Strangers

TABLE NO.64

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
kaka	33.3	37.7	34.7
sərdar sáb	-	-	2.1
kaka ji	-	4.9	4.3
pài/biba	-	3.2	2.1
pUtt	-	-	2.1
gUḍḍi	38.8	40.9	39.0
biba	-	1.6	4.3

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
mUnni/beṭi	-	3.3	2.1
pɛṇ ji	-	-	2.1
beṭa/beṭe	-	6.5	4.3
kUṛie	11.1	1.6	2.1
aṛi	5.5	-	-
yar	5.5	-	-
mŨḍIa	5.5	-	-

6.2.57. Acquaintances

Among acquaintances mostly the relationship is of formal nature and therefore formal forms of address are in use. The age, social status and particular context helps to determine the actual form of address, to be used. In general, elder persons receive formal forms of address, include the kinship terms or names or surnames plus honorific suffixes, like **ə̃nkəl ji/taIa/taIa ji, caca ji.** The females are addressed by **pɛ̀ṇ ji, ãnṭi ji, mata ji, bibi ji, caci ji,** etc. The acquaintances of same age group are also addressed by the polite or honorific forms of address. Sometimes merely informal forms of address are

used. The youngsters are addressed by names, nicknames or by kinship terms like **beṭa/beṭi, kaka, gUḍḍi, mUnni,** etc., in case they are very young in comparison to the addresser. Terms like **pài, pɛ̀ṇ, vir,** etc., are also used in case the age difference is not much. The social status of the addressee plays a prominent role in determing the actual choice of the mode of address to be used. See the Table Nos.65, 66 and 67 below:

6.2.57.1. Acquaintance of Older Age Group

TABLE NO.65

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
ãnṭi ji/ə̃nkəl ji	26.3	11.7	-
ji/prá ji	7.8	8.8	12.1
pai sáb/pɛ̀ṇ ji/pài	-	38.1	46.1
vir ji/vira	13.0	8.8	2.4
Mr. + Surname	5.2	4.3	4.8
caca/taIa ji/caci/caci ji/ taI ji	47.0	13.0	16.8
pəndIt ji/sərdar ji/ baba ji/máraj ji/ bibi ji	5.2	7.1	7.2
əmma ji/mata ji/ massi/bebe/pə̀rjai ji	2.6	5.7	9.6

6.2.57.2. Acquaintance of Equal Age Group

TABLE NO.66

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	8.6	15.3	26.8
pai/pài sáb/pà ji/ vir ji/prá ji/vir	21.5	44.1	19.4
tũ/tUsĩ	8.6	-¢	4.8
pabi ji/pɛ̀ṇji/pɛṇ	34.7	30.7	26.7
Surname + ji/NN/Name + ji	26.0	5.7	21.8
ãnṭi/ə̃nkəl	-	3.8	-

6.2.57.3. Acquaintances of Younger Age Group

TABLE NO.67

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
beṭa	-	-	3.0
NNFN/Full name	66.6	46.6	39.3
beṭa/kaka/kaka ji	13.3	28.8	18.1
kUṛie/gUḍḍi	13.3	16.3	27.2
pɛ̀ṇ/pɛ̀ṇ ji	-	-	6.0
pài vi	6.6	11.0	3.0

6.2.58. Neighbours

As in the case of acquaintances, neighbours

are also addressed by various forms of address depending on their age, social status, inter-personal relationship and various contexts. Neighbours are generally regarded more intimate than the acquaintances. Elders are addressed by names or surnames, professional names plus honorific titles **ji** or **sáb**, or by polite or honorific kinship terms of address.

Neighbours of equal age group are also mostly addressed by polite or honorific forms of address. The youngsters are addressed by first names, nick names or affectionate kinship terms of address like **beṭa/beṭi, kaka, gUḍḍi**, etc. See the Table Nos.68, 69 and 70 below:

6.2.58.1. Elder Neighbour

TABLE NO.68

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Surname + sáb/ Title + sáb	1.8	1.1	5.4
bai ji/bapu/bapu ji	7.2	-	5.0
pài sáb/pài ji/vir ji/ pra/vira/pai	3.6	12.2	9.4
sərdar ji/sərdarni	-	-	4.6
Name + ji/EN (+ji)/NN	-	-	10.7
caca ji/caca/taIa ji/taIa	38.1	31.0	19.4

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
baba/baba ji/bəjUrgo	-	4.4	2.6
masəṛ ji/ə̃nkəl/ə̃nkəl ji	43.3	9.9	-
əmma ji/bebe ji/bebe	5.4	2.2	5.3
pɛ̀ṇ ji/bibi ji/pɛ̀ṇ/pabi	1.8	11.1	14.1
tai/tai ji/caci/caci ji	23.6	24.4	16.6
be ji/mata ji/pərjai ji	-	3.3	3.9
mami/ãnṭi/ãnṭi ji	12.7	-	-

6.2.58.2. Neighbour of Equal Age Group

TABLE NO.69

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pà ji/pài	4.1	7.6	-
Title + ji/Surname/ FN/NN/ Name + ji	71.8	58.0	33.2
Full name	6.2	2.5	-
pra ji/vir ji/ pai sáb/Surname	10.4	11.5	4.1
pɛ̀ṇ/bibi/pə̀rjai ji	3.12	5.1	20.7

6.2.58.3. Younger Neighbour

TABLE NO.70

	A1	A2	A3
kaka	-	7.5	6.8
NN/Full name/FN	75.8	80.1	77.2
pUtt	24.1	1.5	2.2
gUḍḍi/gUḍḍu	-	9.0	11.3
kUṛe/yar	-	1.5	2.2

Professional Relations

6.2.59. Shopkeeper

Mostly shopkeepers elder in age or of the same age group and of high status are addressed by honorific or polite modes of address. The terms like **lala ji, seṭh ji, seṭh sáb, sərdar ji** and **sərdar sáb,** etc., are used for those addressees with higher social status. Notice that the terms **lala** and **seṭh** without the suffixes **ji** or **sáb** are not polite forms of address. These are used by friends of same age group. Kinship terms like **vir ji, pài sáb, baba ji** addressee's name or surname plus **ji** or **sáb**, are also commonly used for showing intimacy. Elder customers may address the youngster by **kaka, pài** or **beṭe** as well (Table No.71).

TABLE NO.71

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
lala ji/seṭh ji/seṭh sáb	21.5	33.3	31.0
Name + ji/sáb	21.5	22.5	20.0
vir ji/prá ji	45.5	33.3	25.0
baba ji	11.5	10.4	10.0
kaka	-	-	14.0

6.2.60. Customer

A shopkeeper in general uses honorific or polite forms of address in addressing his customers of all age groups. He shows extra politeness in addressing the customers of higher social status and of the A2 and A3 groups. Shopkeepers address customers of A1 age group by informal modes of address like **pài/pɛ̀ṇ** or the customer's name or a nick name. They use **pài sáb** or **pɛ̀ṇ ji** in case the customers are not personally known to them. They also use terms of affection like **bebe/bibi/kaka/mŨḍIa** also (Table No.72).

TABLE NO.72

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pài/NN/FN	47.0	5.12	6.4

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
sərdarji/lala ji	-	17.9	15.3
pə̀i sáb/pɛ̀ṇ ji	41.1	41.	23.5
bai ji/máraj	-	2.5	3.2
Name + ji/sáb	-	12.8	6.4
babu ji/mata ji	-	5.1	19.2
bebe/bibi/kaka	11.7	12.8	19.2

6.2.61. Doctor

The term **ḍakṭər sáb** is mostly used for addressing a doctor by all the respondents. The respondents of A1 group also use **ḍakṭər ji, ə̃nkəl ji/ãnṭi ji** as well. Other terms such as **ḍakṭər, ḍakṭərni ji, pɛ̀ṇ ji, mɛḍəm,** etc., are used by a small percentage of various social backgrounds (Table No.73).

TABLE NO.73

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
ḍakṭər sáb	29.4	92.6	72.1
ḍakṭər ji	35.2	2.4	8.3
ḍakṭər	-	-	2.7
ḍakṭərni		--	2.7
ḍakṭərni ji	-	2.4	-

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pɛ̀ṇ ji	5.8	4.8	11.1
mɛḍəm	5.8	-	2.7
ənkəl ji/ãnṭi ji	23.5	-	-

6.2.62. Patient

A doctor mostly addresses A1 age group by **kaka/kaka ji/pài** or by **biba/bibi** and by polite pronouns of address. He uses **pài sáb/pɛ̀ṇ ji** or **bibi ji**, etc., for the patients of A2 and A3 groups. The professional titles or surname + **ji/sáb** are used for those known to him (Table No.74).

TABLE NO.74

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
baba ji	-	3.5	7.1
Honorific pronouns	11.7	17.5	21.4
FN/Nick name	5.8	1.7	7.1
sərdar ji/Title + Surname, Name + ji/sáb	-	3.5	10.6
kaka ji/pài/kaka	58.8	8.7	3.5
baba/bibi/bibi ji	23.5	26.2	28.5

6.2.63. Teacher

Honorific modes of address are used for addressing teacher. The terms **masṭer ji/** and **pɛ̀ṇ ji** are used for addressing male and female teachers respectively. The terms **sər/sər ji/ mɛḍəm** are also frequently used by all the age group respondents. The term **masṭər + sáb** is used by the respondents of A3 group only. Other terms Mr./Miss/Mrs. plus surname are also used by a small number of respondents in A3 (Table No.75).

TABLE NO.75

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
masṭər ji/pɛ̀ṇ ji	61.2	45.5	40.6
sər/sər ji/mɛḍəm	38.6	45.5	31.2
masṭər sáb/Title + sáb	-	9.0	21.8
Mr./Miss/Mrs. + Surname	-	-	6.1

6.2.64. Student

Students are generally addressed by their first names, nick names or full names by their teachers. When the name is not known, a teacher addresses his students by affectionate terms like **kaka/mŨnḍIa/kUṛie**, etc. (Table No.76).

TABLE NO.76

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN/NN	88.2	84.8	33.3
Full name	11.7	12.1	66.6
nŨnḍIa/kUṛie/kaka	-	3.0	-

6.2.65. Lawyer

A lawyer is mostly addressed by **vəkil sáb** and surname + **sáb** or **ji**. A lower percentage of people address him by **vəkil ji** and by polite terms like **pài sáb**, etc. (Table No.77).

TABLE NO.77

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pài sáb	-	-	22.2
vir ji/vəkil ji	-	10.0	11.1
vəkil sáb	-	70.0	66.6
FN/Surname + sáb	-	20.0	-

6.2.66. Senior Officials

Terms of address used for officials depend on his/her status, age and interpersonal relationships. Mostly all senior officials are addressed by polite forms of address like

professional title + **sáb**, surname + **sáb**, Mr./ Mrs./Madam + surname, or by **sáb**, **sər** and **mɛdəm**. The addresse's official status is mostly responsible for the choice of the mode of address to be used for him/her. Officials are addressed either by their own junior colleagues or outsiders, who come in official contact with them. Mostly officials of equal status or close colleagues are addressed by more intimate modes of address like Mr. + surname, First name or Fullname + **ji**. They may be addressed by kinship terms of address like **pài sáb/pɛ̀ṇ ji**.

Officials of junior rank or status, youngsters, are mostly addressed by Full name + **ji**, last Name + **ji** or by terms like **pài sáb/pɛ̀ṇ ji**, **babu ji** or by personal names without polite suffixes or prefixes of titles (Table Nos.78 and 79).

6.2.66.1. Seniors

TABLE NO.78

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
Title + sáb	-	30.5	-
professər sáb	-	5.5	40.0
sáb	50.0	8.7	40.0

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
sər	-	30.5	6.6
Mr./surname/surname + sáb	-	5.5	6.6
mɛḍəm/bibi ji/mɛḍəm ji	25.0	5.5	6.6
bau ji	25.0	-	-
pɛ̀ṇ ji	-	13.8	-

6.2.66.2. Equals

TABLE NO.79

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
pài sáb	-	7.8	-
FN + ji	-	15.7	4.7
FN	33.3	18.4	28.5
Full name	-	10.5	9.5
Title + sáb	-	-	4.7
Surname + ji	33.3	7.8	4.7
FN/Full name	-	31.5	33.3
FN/Full name + ji	-	7.8	9.5
Miss/Mr./Mrs./surname	-	-	4.7
pɛ̀ṇ ji/pài sáb	33.3	-	-

6.2.67. Other Professional Categories

Other professional categories include

technical workers such as driver, conductor, mechanic, barbar, washerman, milkman, cobbler, vegetable seller, hawker, taxi driver, tonga driver, rickshaw puller, etc. Most of these persons are either addressed by their professional terms plus polite suffixes **sáb** and **ji** like **ḍrɛvər sáb/ḍraivər sáb, kənḍəkṭər sáb, mIstri ji.** Some of the professional skilled workers like driver, barber, motor mechanic, etc., are addressed by **Ustad** and **masṭər**, as well. The persons like taxi drivers, scooter drivers, rickshaw pullers, fruit sellers, vebetable sellers, milkmen, etc., are addressed by the terms like **ṭɛksi vale, rIkša vale** and **skuṭər vale** respectively. The term **vale** is also added with the things various people sell: like vegetable seller, a fruit seller, milkman, etc., are addressed by **səbji vale, phəllvale, dUd vale** respectively (Table Nos.80 and 81).

6.2.67.1. Milkman

TABLE NO.80

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
sərdar ji/šərma ji/gIani ji	26.6	28.4	6.8
pɛ̀ṇ ji/pài/pài sáb	26.6	57.1	33.3
pə̃ḍət	-	-	-

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
NN/Full name + ji/FN	19.9	7.1	59.9
vira/vir	13.3	-	-
ə̃nkəl ji	13.3	7.1	-

6.2.67.2. **Sweeper**

TABLE NO.81

	A1	A2	A3
	%	%	%
FN	25.0	53.5	15.3
NN/əmma	10.0	3.5	23.0
Full name/Full name + ji	-	7.1	7.6
jəmadarni/caci	10.0	28.5	46.1
taí/cuṛi/tai ji	25.0	3.5	7.5
jəmadar	10.0	3.5	-
baba ji	20.0	-	-

Besides these terms related to one's profession, some other polite or kinship terms of address like personal names, kinship terms like **pài ji, pài sáb** or **pai** are also used for addressing the persons of the above categories.

These persons in return mostly choose honorific or polite forms of address like **sáb,**

mɛḍəm, pàì sáb, pɛ̀ṇ ji, babu ji, mata ji, bibi ji, vir ji, prá ji. Table Nos.80 and 81 show the use of modes of address for addressing two prominant professional categories 'milkman' and 'sweeper' respectively.

The study of frequency in the use of different modes of address is very useful from the pedagogical point of view. As may be seen the age group appears a major decisive factor in the frequency of the use of modes of address. The frequency of the terms of address also reflects the social and professional status of the addressee and addresser. It also indicates the type of interpersonal relationship and attitudes.

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7. CONCLUSION

In the present study the semantic rules governing the choice of modes of address and second person pronominal usage in Punjabi have been worked out from a collection of data drawn from literary texts, questionnaires, discussions, observation and experience. The use of modes of address and pronominal usage is characterized by different socio-linguistic components: the topic of discourse, the context of the speech event, the age, generation, sex and kinship status.

It has been observed that the most common address forms are FN, NN, TLN, Full Name, Title + Honorific suffixes (**sáb, ji,** etc.) and other kinship terms of address based on different relations an addressee may have with an addresser. It is confirmed that the use of address form is not independent of pronominal usage. The use of terms of address and pronouns of address are governed by the

same type of rules. A person may be addressed with as many titles as there are relationships or roles he plays in a society. There are certain usages which are clearly predictable but the others are conditioned by social parameters pertained to the society.

The use of terms of address and second person pronouns are correlated with social structure and cultural patterns of the people who speak the given language natively. It has been observed that the people living in rural areas generally tend to use non-honorific forms of address without taking into account the age, sex and the status of the people, they are addressing. Though there is considerable change among the people due to wide spread education, economic development, industrialisation and other social reforms, but still non-honorific forms are in common use. In urban areas, people use mostly honorific forms of address and the terms like **ãnṭi** and **ə̃nkəl** are commonly used by them for all strangers, neighbours and acquaintances. The use of these terms does not reveal a particular relationship between the addresser and addressee. In rural areas, though caste creed distinction is maintained, but they

have close familial relations with each other, so they use familial relational terms of address for each other. But in urban areas, they are addressed by their first names or professional titles.

In non-reciprocal patterns, a distinction is made in terms of status. A person of higher social status is being addressed by his subordinates by TLN while they receive FN in return. The practice of using intimate address forms for subordinates and the distant forms for persons of higher status also govern the use of pronouns of address and conventional greetings as well. The switching from formal to informal modes of address and pronouns of address shows the progression of relation from acquaintance to friendship. The pronominal form **tũ** 'you' is more common among intimates and for addressing subordinates while **tUsĩ** 'you' is used for non-intimates, persons of higher social status, and distant acquaintances. Where there is clear difference between the two, the person of higher status has power to intimate the change, because there is little risk if he is initiator for act of association, whereas risk would be greater in case of

the person of lower social status. Every step towards friendship is initiated by the person of higher status.

In Punjabi the honorific suffixes appended with first name are only **ji** and **sáb**, to show extra politeness. The use of these honorific suffixes is both free and bound. These suffixes are generally appended with FN's, surnames and professional titles. There are certain restrictions in the use of these honorific suffixes. Some kinship terms take both suffixes, others do not. They are not interchangeable in certain cases as discussed in Chapter-3. In Punjabi 'Mr./Miss' and 'Mrs.' are the common titles adopted from English. Whereas in English these titles are appended to the full name or LN, but in Punjabi these are added to FN also. There are some additional terms like **šIrmati/šIriman, sərdar/sərdarni, bibi/biba, kaka**, etc. These titles are not necessarily used with surnames only they can be prefixed to first names as well. Other common English titles used are sir/madam. In general these terms are used either reciprocally between new acquaintances or non-receiprocally by a person of lower status to a person of higher

status, subordinates to seniors, or by school children and students of college and universities to address their teachers. These terms are less intimate and more differential.

The vocative particle **he** is used both in Hindi and Punjabi to address divinities like **he sədcce patsa, he rəbb** in Punjabi, **he ram, he bhəgvan** in Hindi. For addressing human beings in Hindi, there are two or three vocative forms, while in Punjabi there are different honorific and non-honorific vocative forms agreeing with the addressee in number and gender.

Modes of address are also correlated with modes of greetings. Modes of greetings either precede or follow the modes of address. The use of greeting forms (both verbal and non-verbal) vary according to socio-linguistic factors and interpersonal relationship.

The address forms are always context bound, so there are two types of addressing forms: (a) static and (b) non-static. Both address forms are used for all the three dyadic relations, i.e., familial, social and professional, but the frequency is higher in familial dyadic relation than the other two.

Familial relations include relationships

both from paternal and maternal side. These relations are more or less of equal status, reflected in the forms of address used by the participants. Social dyadic relations are developed, when a person plays different roles in a given society according to different social settings. Similarly, professional dyadic relations are also developed when persons come in contact in their professional practice. It has been observed that the age is the predominant factor in the frequency of the use of modes of address among different dyadic relations.

It has been noticed that there is considerable flexibility in the choice of the use of modes of address. There is no single term which can be used for an addressee by the addressers belonging to different status and age groups. Some of the forms are shared by persons of higher and equal status for an addressee on the one hand, and persons of lower status on the other. So the use of modes of address is shown both in upward or higher status and downward or lower status positions of their users.

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APPENDIX - I

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APPENDIX - II

QUESTIONNAIRE

Use of Modes of Address in Punjabi

1. Name: ____________ District: ____________

2. Place of birth: ____________

3. Sex: Male [ ] Female [ ]

4. Age in years: 10 to 20 [ ]
21 to 40 [ ]
Above 40 [ ]

5. Religion: Sikh [ ] Hindu [ ] Muslim [ ]

6. Education : Illiterate ____________
Upto Hr.Sec. ____________
Graduate ____________
Post-Graduate ____________

6(a) Occupation: ____________

7. What type of modes of address do you use for the following:

Familial Relations

1) Father:

2) Father's father:

3) Father's mother:

4) Father's elder brother:

5) Father's younger brother:

6) Father's elder sister:

7) Father's younger sister:

8) Father's sister's husband:

9) Mother:

10) Mother's father:

11) Mother's mother:

12) Mother's elder brother:

13) Mother's younger brother:

14) Mother's elder sister:

15) Mother's younger sisters:

16) Mother's sister's husband:

17) Brother:

18) Elder brother:

19) Younger brother:

20) Elder brother's wife:

21) Younger brother's wife:

22) Brother's son:

23) Brother's daughter:

24) Sister:

25) Elder sister:

26) Younger sister:

27) Elder sister's husband:

28) Younger sister's husband:

29) Sister's son:

30) Sister's daughter:

31) Son:

32) Father's brother's son:

33) Father's sister's son:

34) Father's brother's daughter:

35) Father's sister's daughter:

36) Daughter:

37) Mother's brother's son:

38) Mother's sister's son:

39) Mother's sister's daughter:

40) Mother's brother's daughter:

41) Wife:

42) Wife's elder brother:

43) Wife's elder sister:

44) Wife's elder brother:

45) wife's younger sister:

46) Wife's mother:

47) Wife's father:

48) Husband:

49) Husband's elder brother:

50) Husband's elder sister:

51) Husband's younger brother:

52) Husband's younger sister:

53) Husband's mother:

54) Husband's father:

Social Relations

	Male	Female
55) Land-lord:	________	________
56) Tenant:	________	________
57) Master:	________	________
58) Servant:	________	________

59) Friends:

	Male	*Female*
i) Formal:	________	________
ii) Non-formal:	________	________

60) (a) Stranger

Age group	*Male*	*Female*
i) Older	________	________
ii) Equal	________	________
iii) Younger	________	________

(b) Acquaintances

Age group	*Male*	*Female*
i) Older	________	________
ii) Equal	________	________
iii) Younger	________	________

(c) Neighbours

Age group	*Male*	*Female*
i) Older	________	________
ii) Equal	________	________
iii) Younger	________	________

Professional Relations

	Male	*Female*
61) Shopkeeper:	________	________
62) Customer:	________	________
63) Doctor:	________	________
64) Patient:	________	________

65) Teacher:

	Male	Female
a) Primary	________	________
b) Middle/Hr.Sec.	________	________
c) College	________	________
d) University	________	________

66) Students:

	Male	Female
a) Primary	________	________
b) Middle/Hr.Sec.	________	________
c) College	________	________
d) University	________	________

	Male	Female
67) Lawyer:	________	________
68) Milkman/woman:	________	________
69) Sweeper:	________	________
70) Washerman/women:	________	________

71) Official:

a) Senior officers:

b) Colleagues of the same status:

c) Junior colleagues:

